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VOL. XV. No. 13. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1905. PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR

ORIGINAL IF NOTHING ELSE

While trying to make the "carom" of fastening ridicule upon the approaching Chicago Convention, and, of course, failing, the Evansville, Ind., "Socialist" of the 9th instant "pockets the ball", so to speak, by giving the first clear insight, so far given, upon the structural theory according to which the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party is builded.

Arguing against the purpose of the Chicago Manifesto to establish an economic or industrial Union "founded on the class struggle", the Evansville "Socialist" pronounces the notion absurd, "confused"; and its reason for so holding is that "the class struggle has been, is and will remain until the class interests causing this struggle are removed." In short, the Evansville "Socialist" holds that the class struggle being a fact "which can neither be introduced into nor left out of the social movement", therefore it is nonsense to "found a labor organization upon the class struggle"; the structure of the Social Movement, that is to emancipate the working class and eliminate class antagonisms, will rise soundly all of itself: the inherent, latent class struggle will take care of that.

Whatever may be said of this style of reasoning, the palm for originality can not be denied it.

According thereto, "arrant nonsense is the notion of building a house obedient to the law of gravitation: the law of gravitation can neither be introduced into nor left out of the building construction: it is there: 'fools', 'confusionists' and what not are those who would seek to raise the house by level and plumb-line: all such people are 'Moseses' and 'Messiahs', intent upon the silly scheme of introducing into a structure the law of gravitation that is there anyhow: the sensible man lets the law of gravitation work out its own salvation: comfortable apartments, safe and solid walls, secure roofs, sound flooring will all shape themselves of themselves and in their right places, thanks to the inherent law of gravitation."

Or, to take another illustration, "arrant nonsense is the notion of building a ship obedient to the laws of mechanics: the laws of mechanics are not and can not be invented by anyone: they 'can not be introduced nor can they be left out of' a ship-yard: they are there, a part of the universe: 'fools', 'confusionists' and what not are those who would seek to rear a ship by mechanical laws: all such people are 'Moseses' and 'Messiahs', intent upon the silly scheme of introducing into shipbuilding the mechanical laws that no man has invented or could invent: the sensible man lets the laws of mechanics work out their own salvation: strong prow, solid ribs, watertight side-planking, masts at proper distances will all of themselves shape themselves in their right places, thanks to the inherent laws of mechanics."

Intelligently applied, will aid in rearing habitable buildings and seaworthy ships, will, when ignored or unintelligently applied, smash both house and ship into a heap of ruins. Exactly so with the sociologic law of the class struggle. It lies latent and palpitating in social evolution—just as the laws of mechanics and of gravitation lie latent and palpitating in nature; just as these, the Class Struggle is not a "constructive force", it is a "power", the capacity of which to construct the Socialist Republic depends upon the intelligence of the human agency that handles it; and just as with gravitation and mechanics, the identical "power" of the class struggle, which, when intelligently applied, will aid in rearing the Socialist Republic, will, if ignored or unintelligently applied, smash society into a heap of ruins. As the intelligent builder of ships and houses will found these upon the laws of gravitation and mechanics, so will the intelligent militant in the Labor Movement found the organizations of Labor upon the class struggle.

Of all this the Evansville "Socialist" evidently is blissfully ignorant, and, consequently, misses egregiously the "carom" that it attempted against the movement to build at Chicago a national economic organization of Labor founded upon the class struggle. But in missing the "carom", it "pocketed a ball". Its theory luminously explains the structural theory upon which its party is reared. By the light of its theory one is at last able to understand the system in the madness that expects the Socialist Republic to rise out of the jumble of Civic Federalized Unions, of party locals that fuse with capitalist candidates, of party papers that sell out the workers for advertisements, of party leaders who endorse capitalist papers as "acceptable", of party representatives who sign resolutions against "backward" workmen, of party candidates who kotow to pro-Cragg resolutions in their Unions, of party platforms that echo bourgeois reform—in short of conduct that is not founded on the class struggle. The system in the madness lies in the grotesque theory announced by the Evansville "Socialist" that only confusionists will think of founding a Labor organization upon the class struggle—the class struggle being there, anyhow, it will see to the rest (sic)!

Of course it will—like all ignored laws of nature or society, by smashing things into a cocked hat, and bringing the falsely constructed edifice, as is happening with the party of the Evansville "Socialist", down over the ears of those paragons of wisdom who would handle the Social Question like Indians who have found a watch.

TOBIN IN CANADA. His "Union" "Nobly Wages the Class Struggle" in the Interests of the Employers, as Usual.

(Special Correspondence.)
Montreal, June 14.—As an instance of how the Tobins, Seivermans, Eastons, and others of the International Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, and American Federation of Labor, are "nobly waging the Class Struggle" on the side of the Capitalist Class, and have well earned the title you have conferred upon them, namely, "Organized Scabs," We submit for the information of your readers, a page from the history of Organized Scabbery in Eastern Canada.

Previous to the year 1898, "The Federation Canadienne des Cordonniers du Canada" practically controlled conditions in the Shoemaking trade in this section of the country.

The Federation had a strike in 1899 at Whitham's factory, in Montreal, and Mr. Tobin loomed up, wanting the Federation lasters to join his Union. We would not join, but promised him to support his label, and would attach to his Union all lasters who might be employed in any shop that would take his label. We won this strike, and three months after helped Tobin to organize this firm and make a contract with the company.

Some time afterward, our members had trouble with the Ames Holden Company of Montreal, and, of course, Mr. Tobin appeared upon the scene. We promptly got Messrs. Roberge and Leeperance of the Montreal Central Trades & Labor Council, and Mr. Tobin together and got Tobin to promise not to interfere. Three weeks after he returned to Montreal and informed us that he could make a contract with the Ames-Holden Company. We agreed to go back to work for three months and

THE DIFFERENCE

Tactical and Organic, Between the S. P. and S. L. P., Set Forth by An S. P. Member.

(Special Correspondence.)

Ogden, Utah, June 12.—The tactical and organic differences which distinguish the Socialist Labor Party from all other claimants to first place in the social revolutionary movement on the western hemisphere, are well known to all readers of the Socialist Labor Party Press, but owing to the constitutional inability of the "first American expression of Socialism" to give a consistent account of itself, it follows that the members of the "Socialist" party of many aliases know practically nothing of the party to which they belong when considered as a whole. Here and there a member will be found who has the money, time, and patience necessary to procure and read a half dozen or so of the discordant, warring sheets whose principal occupation is found in proclaiming the independence of certain "professors," "martyrs" and "pulpiters" from the "soul censorship," "lese majeste" and "unbelief" of the "corps" of the Socialist Labor Party, which, reasserting the right of free speech, denies the "perfeffer's" claims to infallibility; the "martyr's" divine leadership (either self claimed or gratuitously thrust upon him) and the "pulpiter's" god-ordained right to speak without a chairman and squelch all discussion with imperious waves of the hand.

Outside of the select few that enjoy the doubtful privilege of consuming this "intellectual" feast of many courses are the rank and file who depend largely on the "Appeal to Reason," and where no leaven of the Socialist Labor Party has penetrated to counteract its vicious influence, they applaud in open meeting spoken statements constantly printed in its columns to the effect that "working-men are the biggest fools on earth."

To the end that these and other criticisms of the "Socialist" party which appear in The People be not mistaken for the idle mouthings of "knockers" which go to prove a charge of destructiveness as opposed to any attempt or ability to build better structures than those they would destroy, some account of the pernicious effects of the agitation and literature of the "Socialist" party is here submitted.

During the campaign here last fall the party established permanent headquarters, distributed great quantities of literature ("Appeal to Reason," Debs' and Hanford's "speeches" of acceptance, etc.), held some half-dozen or

arbitrate, if Tobin could reinstate the strikers, even under his banner.

This Tobin would not do, and we cut off all further connection with him. Tobin then called a public meeting of lasters, which was attended by nearly every laster in Montreal, organized and unorganized, and of both Unions. The meeting decidedly unanimously to support us in our stand.

Tobin threatened us with the thunders of the American Federation of Labor, and shortly after made a contract with the Ames-Holden Company. We appealed to the Montreal Trades & Labor Council, who gave a decision in our favor, but through pressure from the American Federation of Labor, reversed the verdict.

Then "The Slater Shoe Company" had a visit from Tobin, and our members got notice to join the International. Our members refused. The company got the label supplied to them by Tobin, and Brockton (that Kangaroo center of political quackery), Lynn, Toronto, and other strongholds of the American Federation of Labor furnished scabs with Union buttons on their coats, and no buttons on their pants. Yellow buttons, blue buttons, red buttons, buttons with clasped hands, buttons with torches and some buttons without shirts on them, a motley crew they were, and long ere this may have a charter from the A. F. of L. working for Farley, or as deputy marshals in Chicago.

We had a contract with Messrs. J. & T. Bell. Tobin blew into town, and we knew there was more dirt for the Shoe-makers. He made a contract with this firm, and the firm with him, while ours was still in force, which shows the value of contracts of that character.

We may have more history to give you yet. Fraternally yours,
A. W. La Wallaire,
President of Local No. 1, Canadian Federation of Shoemakers.

more meetings, and spent in the neighborhood of \$200 for campaign expenses, and polled about 600 votes in the city. If mere vote getting is to be taken as a criticism of success, then, "judging from local conditions, the "Socialist" party may be said to have accomplished wonders. But on the other hand if the sound teaching which alone can build the solidarity of the workers is regarded as being all important, then the vote cast is no true indication of accomplishment.

It was some time after the close of the campaign before the local recuperated its exhausted energies and called a meeting, when it was set forth (as shown in the minutes) that out of about 700 voters in the county the local should count on at least 200 dues-paying members instead of a paltry twelve as then enrolled. This discrepancy is due to the populist, reactionary literature which acts like the brass bands with which the workers are beguiled from thought and action by the hurrah politicians of the capitalist class. When the band moves on the enthusiasm dies out.

Aside from the discouragement and the tendency to throw political action of the working class into the same disrepute that pure and simple unionism has thrown action on the economic field, perhaps the phase of this reactionary movement fraught with the greatest danger for the rank and file of the workers the world over is found in the luke-warm "darning with faint praise" attitude of the party toward "foreigners." It is true that embodied in the platform and literature of the party you will find no distinctions made on account of "race, creed, color or sex." In the "great" religions, on the lips of the spokesmen of the capitalist class or wherever else you may find them, however, these expressions of the "brotherhood" of man will be found to be glittering generalities and murder and race hatred will continue until sound economic teaching as exemplified in the Socialist Labor Party literature shall have opened the eyes of the workers to their common interest and brotherhood. Thanks to the absence of this teaching and the efforts of some of the "Socialist" party's leading lights who have scattered confusion and race hatred along with the thinly disguised capitalist slogan, "America for Americans," some "Socialist" party members and voters draw the color line or passively listen to denunciation of "foreigners" as the cause of economic dependence. The pity is greater in as much as all hands give patient hearing to the international aspect of the labor movement whenever it is presented. Of course it is not so popular, but who cares for popularity when such vital interests are at stake?

The stranger who blows in here, and between trains meanders around the railroad shops and yards intent upon the practical study of social conditions cannot fail to note that Greeks, Japanese and negro employes are conspicuous by their absence. In a stroll up the main street one sees many of these people, especially the former, whose appearance leaves no room to doubt that they would like a job if they could get one, and a few inquiries put to some native Ogdenite will develop the information that the railroad company, in consideration of sundry bonuses from the city, trampled on the "sacred right of contract" and the "right of man to work when, where, and for whom he will" by agreeing to bar all but "whites" from employment.

Judging from all accounts there is less of opportunism connected with the "Socialist" party in the West than in the East; but on account of the flimsy literature which that party circulates, much of the splendid independence of the Western proletariat is misdirected. In its ranks and among its sympathizers, the "Socialist" party numbers men and women as noble of heart and honest of purpose as one could wish to meet and it is therefore idle to speculate what would happen to the vote if it were clearly stated that all candidates in the coming municipal election were pledged to work for a literal interpretation of the sense of international Socialism which regards the injury of one as the injury of all and must, to be consistent, make every effort to remove all barriers which shelter one part of the working class to the injury of another and the extension of the powers of capitalism. At best all such petty advantages accruing from craft, race, or sex are of short duration and had better be regarded merely as a foothold to drag others up instead of a permanent resting place from which to occupants are to hurl stink pots at those below whom they imagine are responsible for the growing insecurity of their exalted positions.

(Continued on page 3.)

J. BEVERLY SMITH

Adds to the Gaiety of the Nations at the Litho. Artists' Convention.

To have added to the gaiety of the nations is a distinction not without merit in these days of grewsome international wars. Where there is so much shadow and sorrow he who contributes the dash of humor that floods the scene with sunshine and brightness is a public benefactor. Just now, J. Beverly Smith, secretary of the Litho. Employers Association, is reaping laurels by such contributions. Addressing the Litho. Artists' National Convention in this city on the 7th instant, J. Beverly Smith said that "the employers' association is working to raise the industry to the highest standard and could be greatly helped by the co-operation of the workers."

Continuing, Mr. J. Beverly also said: "Many of the employers have been workers themselves. A man may be a workman to-day and an employer to-morrow. We are not fighting the labor organizations, and we want the men to realize that mutual government is best for both sides. As to apprentices we don't want boys who have a natural desire for carpentry or other trades and who would be dummies in the business. We want boys with a natural ability for it, as the best means of perfecting the industry and bringing lithography up to the highest standard."

This quotation is accompanied in the press with the announcement that the artists are "the highest paid men in the business, their wages ranging from \$40 to \$125 a week." The source of this announcement is obvious.

To the outsider, the gaiety of J. Beverly's address may not be apparent. That is due to the subtle humor underlying it, which lithographers only can appreciate. In order, however, that outsiders may join in the guffaws and the "ha-ha's", the following facts and figures are produced:

According to the census of 1900 the average wages in lithographing and engraving during that year, as compared with the year 1890, was as follows:

	Men	Women	Children
1900	\$597	\$267	\$171
1890	690	258	180

Does the reader now appreciate J. Beverly's statement that "the employers' association is working to raise the industry to the highest standard, and could be greatly helped by the co-operation of the workers"? Does the reader appreciate the subtlety of the humor that invites men to assist in their own economic degradation, on the ground that they are thereby raising the industry to "the highest standard"? If he does, he will greatly understand why the lithographers are laughing, and J. Beverly is a benefactor of the race.

But as intimated, that is not all. Let us turn to the census again. From 1890 to 1900, the number of lithographing and engraving establishments increased from 219 to 263, or 20 per cent. The number of employees increased from 9656 to 12,994, or 35 per cent. That is, the number of employees increased 15 per cent faster than the number of establishments. As every lithographer knows, lithographic establishments are rarely founded by lithographers nowadays. Bankers, theatrical managers, newspaper corporations, insurance and tobacco magnates are the owners of that increase. All of which will enable the reader to understand the humor underlying the Smithsonian statement that "Many of the employers have been workers themselves. A man may be a workman to-day and employer to-morrow." It will also explain why lithographers laugh, and are willing to decorate J. Beverly with medals.

But that is not all. Let us turn from the census to history. In 1896, the Litho. Employers fought the artists on strike five long weeks. Arbitration, that was outrageously violated, followed. In 1904, the artists, engravers, feeders, stone grinders and pressmen struck against a COMPULSORY trade agreement. After five weeks of strike, arbitration again followed, only to be again violated. For the last few years, the Litho. Employers' Association, like all employers' organizations, has used the card index system, that is, it keeps a record of employees, wages paid, etc., etc. Within the past year it has pitted the pressmen and the feeders against each other. Does the reader appreciate the why of all this? Is it to promote

(Continued on page 3.)

EXPLOSIONS

BY THE BUSHEL

I.
[From the Faribault, Minn., Referendum of June 3.]

THE RIGHT STEP.

The Karl Marx Club of San Francisco, California, Joins the Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party in a Body.

San Francisco, Cal., May 24.

Dear Comrade Ford:—The Marxian League has affiliated itself with Section San Francisco S. L. P., and is now a branch of the S. L. P.

I will send you all the particulars if you desire. The "Slowcialists" didn't know what to make of it. We took them by surprise.

Yours for Socialism,
Lewis Herman,
960 Market street, room 15.

That is about what will happen here in Minnesota pretty soon, by the hundreds. The Socialists who have been trying to rid the Debs party of its fleas and barnacles are about tired of trying. Organized as it is, with grafters, traitors, and spies, from Maine to California, and from Minnesota to Florida, and with state constitutions and platforms drafted in such a way that a man or woman cannot be a member unless they are grafters and old party politicians, it is like the Salvation Army saving one soul, and while they are saving him, present conditions make half a million more to save.—Editor.

II.
[From the Kansas City, Kansas, "Line-Up" of June 5.]

"WHAT'S THE CONSTITUTION AMONG FRIENDS?"

Milwaukee is not the only place at this time where the working class is being robbed of their privilege of even expressing their disapproval of this capitalist system.

Here in Kansas in many towns and cities this spring, in localities where there is a local of the Socialist Party, many "reasons" and excuses were advanced to justify the treachery to the cause of the proletariat. At Herrington the home of McAlister, one of the National Committeemen from Kansas, there was no ticket, because "there were not enough Socialists to fill all the offices to be filled." Of course that gives our members a chance to vote for a "good man" on a "non partisan" ticket. On Wednesday following the election, National Committeeman McAlister expressed himself as follows: At Caldwell, Kansas, a Socialist mayor was elected on the Prohibition ticket. Had the Socialists had a ticket in the field they would have voted it, but as they had no ticket they helped to elect Cupp on the Prohibition ticket. Cupp is a good man and a Socialist, who realizes that all reforms including Prohibition can only be brought about through Socialism. Cupp told me this morning that at every election when the Prohibition party had no ticket in the field he always voted the Socialist ticket. Some of our members of Caldwell are going to try to get Mayor-elect Cupp to join the Socialist party." This is what William means. It leads to treachery and treason. The principles of Socialism will be always betrayed by the intellectual domestic of the capitalist class. The working class must take control of their own organization to the end that proletarian emancipation will be speedily realized.—"Y. 19."

III.
[From the Faribault, Minn., Referendum of June 10.]

BIRDS THAT BEFOUL THE NEST REMOVED.

Louisville, Ky., June 1, '05.

Editor Referendum:—

The A. P. A. Social Democrat Herald has been prophesying.

In its issue of May 13, it prophesied: "The time is coming when an outraged rank and file in the labor movement will turn upon its misrepresentatives, who are maintaining an adulterous relation with the representatives of capitalism, and fire them out body and breeches."

And it would seem that its prophecy is coming true sooner than the prophet suspected.

The national committee of the Socialist party has voted 25 to 17 (9 not voting) to declare the seat of Victor L. Berger on the committee vacant.

While the committee cannot be considered the "rank and file", they undoubtedly feel the pressure of the rank and file of the Socialist party below them.

But the rank and file would also appear to be asserting itself in the Socialist party, for the proposition has been submitted to the national committee by a local up in Iowa, to be submitted to the whole party membership. "Shall Victor L. Berger be expelled from the Socialist party?"

Thus it would seem that the time is already here when one at least, of "the misleaders of labor" who have been "adulterously" supporting a Republican "representative of capitalism," is being turned upon by the "outraged rank and file" who look as if they were going to "fire him out body and breeches."

The same A. P. A. Social Democrat Herald speaking of what it calls "the flurry raised by Trautmann" in its issue of April 20, said:

"The we have Local Cincinnati (W. W. Lorimer Corresponding Secretary), which passes defamatory resolutions against the movement in Milwaukee, and then sends copies of the same for publication in papers hostile to the party (its a dirty bird that befools its own nest!) to the N. Y. People, etc."

Its a "dirty bird", is it, that befools its own nest? So say we all; and that is why Comrade W. W. Lorimer and Local Cincinnati were doing their best to put that "dirty bird," Berger, where he couldn't befool the Socialist party, nest any more.

No, no, Comrade Lorimer was not befooling his own nest; he was trying to clean it.

Here is one the editor of the Herald aims at me.

"Then we have that prize-wobbler, Jas. Benedict Arnold, of Louisville, ex-Social-Democrat, ex-S. L. P., etc., who writes to Daffy Ford's sheet 'I am truly glad to see the circulation and influence of the S. L. P. press steadily increasing.'"

Well, James H. Arnold is not a "prize wobbler". He has never since becoming a Socialist voted for or advised that any other Socialist vote for or support any capitalist candidate running on any capitalist ticket, though he has a brother elected to the office of school superintendent on the Democratic ticket.

When I resigned from the S. L. P. I did not resign or abandon the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. I carried them with me into the Socialist party and have never repudiated or denied them and shall not do so.

And since becoming a member of Local Louisville, Socialist party, I have aided in ridding the organization of two members of the Employers Association, one strike breaker, one defender of scabbing, one misappropriator of the local's money, and will have something to say when the vote is taken on ousting Berger from the Socialist party.

But I want to say that Victor L. Berger is not the only capitalist politician in the Socialist party, and the rest of them should be fired along with him.

A good many party members are after Berger's scalp who are not one whit more Socialists than is Berger.

Berger supported Walber, the Republican; Walber supported Roosevelt; Roosevelt supported Peabody and Peabody used his soldiers to deport members of the Western Federation of Miners from their homes in Colorado.

Some of the active hunters for Berger's scalp, like Doc. Titus and Bill Mally, fight the new Industrial union movement to shield the Gompers brand of criminal misleaders of labor, in a word, stand for Gompersism; and Gompersism stands for straight and unadulterated capitalism.

Wherein are Mally and Titus one whit better than Berger?

The shielding of such traitors to the working class as Sam Gompers, W. E. Stone, John Mitchell and their ilk, or the defending of these villains and their "adulterous relations with" the capitalist class is just as much a crime against "the rank and file of labor" as Berger's advising Socialists to vote for a Republican candidate.

No, I am not a wobbler. I may have erred in resigning from the S. L. P.; I rather think I did, but I still stand by every principle of the Socialist Labor Party.

would advise the support of a capitalist That a Socialist Labor Party editor (Continued on page 2.)

"DE LEONISM"

BREAKING OUT EVERYWHERE, AND SMASHING THE BOGUS SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Bogus Concern Pounded by One of Many Who Quits It in Disgust, Giving Facts, not Phrases for the Step—"Broadness" Shown Up—Bogus Socialist Constitution Is There Only as a Blind—The So-called Socialist Party "Wilfully Betrays the Purpose of Revolutionary Socialism"—Dickering With Capitalists—"The Difference" Confirmed—A Den of Hypocrites—"The Socialist Party Looks Like a Big Long-Eared Ass"—Shameful Betrayal of the Working Class.

Los Angeles, Cal., May 29, 1905.
To Local Los Angeles and the Socialist Party:

Comrades: The character of a genuine organization is and must be discernable in its constitution. Any organization that adopts a constitution pledges itself to the line of action laid down therein. When the membership of a sound organization decides to pursue a policy at variance with that laid down in its constitution, that organization will proceed to amend its constitution so as to permit of the changed course of action. The Constitution of the United States has its various amendments. A political party is no exception to this rule.

It has been said that "he who ruleth his own temper is greater than he who taketh a city", and in the same soil with this grows the ethical precept that he who cannot control himself and make his own life consistent is no fit man to govern either a city or anything else. An organization to be fit to govern must also justify itself by the same logical uniformity of its own existence. In the light of this precept and this precept, what kind of government can we expect from an organization, which, having adopted and approving the maintenance of a constitution, deliberately votes not to enforce its laws in nearly every case that comes up with a demand for their enforcement? What position would a nation hold in the eyes of the world, which, having it written in its adopted constitution that "all legislative powers shall be vested in a Congress", would proceed to make all its laws in stock exchanges and bar-rooms without making a pretense at convening Congress on the one hand or at repealing or amending the Constitution on the other? The organization that adopts and maintains a constitution, and conducts itself according to a policy directly opposed to that constitution occupies the same position in its relation to other organizations that a counterfeit dollar occupies among other dollars, the same position that the masked thief does among his fellowmen, or the garnished hypocrite who subscribes to a creed he does not believe in to gain a business advantage. A political party is no exception to this rule. Our constitution is the fundamental law adopted to shape our character, which we are pledged to obey. The platform of a political party is a declaration of principles and purposes to be striven for. A resolution passed by an organization expresses the will of the organization on a subject brought before it at the time of its adoption, and may be either temporary or permanent in its character. A constitution once adopted is binding till amended or repealed. The platforms of political parties are rewritten before each campaign. Platforms and resolutions, in order not to destroy the uniformity and consistency of a party, must be made to harmonize with that party's constitution.

As a member of the Socialist party of California I have learned one thing that I had not learned as a member of the Socialist party of Washington, namely, that the Socialist party as an organization wilfully disregards the principles and betrays the purpose of Revolutionary Socialism, and repudiates its State and national constitutions by its endorsements of capitalist nominations, reform measures and un-revolutionary tactics. While a member of the Socialist party of Washington, which seemed a comparatively class-conscious organization, I was of the opinion that the capitalist nominations and other departures from the revolutionary program alleged against the Socialist party were due rather to accident and neglect than to deliberate action on the part of the party's membership. Such offenses were generally punished in Washington. But here in California my eyes have been pruned open. In the action of Lo-

cal Los Angeles I have seen several very good concrete illustrations of how locals of the Socialist party often do forsake the standard of the Revolution and prefer the petty affairs of intriguing capitalist politicians and the sectional quarrels of the great mass of willing slaves; also of how the officers and members of the Socialist party uphold them in this line of action.

The establishment of this fact shows that the Socialist party is not a fit organization to rule. The Socialist party could not govern and should not be allowed to try to govern the country because it cannot govern itself, and is constantly breaking its own laws. Henry VIII of England and Nero of Rome were not fit to sit upon thrones. They were themselves the constant prey of their own passions. The organization that will repudiate its highest laws in order to exonerate a popular member or punish an unpopular one is the victim of its own passions. The organization that denies to its own members the very rights it advocates for all mankind is not only a victim but a hypocrite.

This sort of hypocrisy has become painfully apparent in the recent action of this local, when the majority of our members, including Comrades F. I. Wheat, Alfred G. Sanftleben, John R. Walker, Fred C. Wheeler, Eunice McMullen, McCluer H. Parker, Francis Nacke-Noel, D. T. Johnston, V. T. Zoraster, L. E. Martin, A. R. Miller, A. R. Holston, Carl S. Wilkins (and with the connivance and support of that sans-socialism, sans-membership, sans-custom-precedent-and-law, sans-sense Editor of "Common Sense" and grand-stand comedian, J. T. Van Rensselaer), voted to endorse the policy of making nominations of capitalist candidates, and tried to justify such traitorous conduct by saying that it was done to establish the use of the "Recall", a "Socialist measure", and just thereafter IN OUR VERY NEXT MEETING VOTED AGAINST THE "RECALL", when it was proposed to use it in our own party to recall unfaithful committee-men for refusing to submit referendums regularly called for, and thereby depriving us of an important part of our suffrage right. I do not believe that we are at all likely, as Comrades F. I. Wheat and John R. Walker have told us, to "make asses of ourselves by enforcing our constitutions too often." The truth is we have already made the whole Socialist party look like a big long-eared ass in the eyes of all the world by our CONSTANT FAILURE TO ENFORCE our constitutions.

Even if the Socialist party should win the day in a national election and all its candidates take the oath of office, the "powers that be" would have no cause to tremble. Far from emancipating the Working Class, the Socialist party, with our present policy prevailing, would not find it more odious to endorse Capitalism in those trying times than now in these times of comparative rest, would not, for it could not break the first chain toward the emancipation of a single slave. Nay, more; if, according to the law of the magnetic affinity of similar natures, the limpid cohorts of your party were to go down into the depths of the realm of all waters, there, on the bottom of the ocean, with the full exercise of all your faculties, with the broadest sweeps of your lily-white fins you could not emancipate a fish.

I do not like to play the rôle of a hypocrite. I don't like to belong to an organization that begins its "industrial freedom" and "complete democracy" program by restricting its own suffrage. I do not like to belong to an organization that approves of a capitalist judge as its member and officer, and endorses, through the action of its State Committee, the policy of posting capitalist political party dodgers on the doors of its quarters and of aiding railroad corporations by sentencing their strikers within its quarters, under its charter and under the decrees of one of its own officers. I don't like to belong to an organization that expels men from its membership for criticizing labor-fakers of the Gompers-Mitchell type. I refuse longer to belong to an organization which, by its own choice keeps its official records full of the deeds of little grafters and little Nabobs. I am a Revolutionary Socialist as distinguished from a Reformer or Opportunist. I want to work for the abolition of wage-slavery, and therefore tender you here with my resignation to Local Los Angeles, to the Socialist Party of California, and to the Socialist party, alias Social Democratic party, alias Public Ownership party of America.

With best wishes to all of you who are sincere in your demands for freedom, I am, yours for the Revolution,
C. H. Duncan.

SECTION SEATTLE'S NEW HOME.

Section Seattle, Socialist Labor Party, has now secured reading room and headquarters at 2035 Western avenue. Always glad to see sympathizers and friends.

SUPPLEMENTALS

TWO LETTERS THAT AID EACH OTHER IN ILLUSTRATING CUR- RENT EVENTS.

A Matchless Opportunity to the American Socialist Movement that Should Not Be Permitted to Pass Without Profit—the Honest Element Smashing the Scams—Education Vs. Deceit Docks.

The letter of C. H. Duncan of Los Angeles, Cal., withdrawing from the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, and the letter of James H. Arnold of Louisville, Ky., who still is a member of the said party of aliases, but who roundly condemns the said concern and does full justice to the Socialist Labor Party,—both of which letters appear in these columns—should be read together; they should be studied together. The American Movement should not allow the matchless opportunity offered to it by the said party of aliases to pass unprofitably, while it lasts. The object lessons offered by the concern will, if properly taken to heart, save much trouble in the future. It is as certain as if we were now there, and the thing were happening that, as the result of the numerous causes operating in that direction, similar concerns will spring up again, and yet again, until, like the waning succeeding circular ripples on the water, they will have wholly vanished, and left the field clear for the revolutionary forces of the land. Only in the measure that the object lessons offered by the bogus Socialist concern of to-day are well learned, will the straggling brothers of the future be saved time and trouble.

Every word in Duncan's letter is true; there is hardly a Local of the so-called Socialist party anywhere in the land to whom the Duncan charges do not fit as closely as they fit the Los Angeles Local, and surely there is no State organization of the said party that can escape his charges—the quibbling to justify chicanery, the double dealing under the pretext of democracy, the tyranny in behalf of corruption, these are all characteristics of the "tolerant" and "broad" so-called Socialist concern. In view of this, indignation and execration would seem to be the only sentiments that such a concern would call forth, and one would incline to the belief that only scamps could set up and be drawn by it. This would be a substantial error, and the error would deprive the object lesson of its value. That scamps would be drawn to such a body, that scamps must have a leading part in its setting up—that goes without saying. But scamps alone can accomplish nothing, or very little. For their ephemeral successes they need well-meaning, honest but uninformed men. These they deceive. Consequently, the honest element that they draw upon is a deceitful element—an element that is credulous and does not weigh evidence sufficiently. This is the point. Calumny is the weapon of the scamps, and the weapon tells upon all those who are not upon their guard. And thus it happens that after a while the scamps are buttressed by a very decent element. But the evolution does not stop there. It is at this point that the Arnold supplements the Duncan letter. The closing passages of the Arnold letter are the clinchers of the point. He says:

"That a Socialist Labor Party editor would advise the support of a capitalist candidate under any circumstances is unthinkable.

"That any Socialist Labor Party member would shield such treacherous scamps as Mitchell, Stone or Gompers is unthinkable.

"The Socialist Labor Party knows its own mind on the question of a sound economic organization of labor and its position is known to all men; but who can tell where the Socialist party stands on the question of trade unionism? No living man.

"It either has no mind on the subject or if it has, it lacks the moral courage to speak out in plain language."

Joining the two letters and interpreting them together the following conclusions are reached:

Scamps may gather honest folks around them; they may lure them into their camp; some of these will become tainted, and develop into scampishness equal to their masters; very many of these will remain untainted; but although the scamps may not have a positive effect upon these in the matter of scampishness, they do have an effect upon them in the matter of information. The seat of bravery is the head. Where knowledge is, bravery will not be absent. But where there is no knowledge, where contradictory principles are practiced, there knowledge can not take root. The result is that the honest element in such a scamp's concern can not know its own

mind, and not knowing it will wobble and lack courage to speak out and act. This lasts for a while, and then having gone through the bitter experience the deceived and honest element begins to "rise and smash."

Admirable, refreshing is the smashing that this honest element is now indulging in. But the question comes, Why go through the bitter experience that leads to these volcanic rumblings and explosions? Is there no way of saving the masses the painful ordeal? There is. But the means lies in their own hands, and none can help them but themselves. That means is to eschew as one would the pest whoever states conclusions; and expects them to be accepted. Such men are scamps. And, closely connected with these means, is the ruthless condemnation of whomever makes a serious charge, when the facts upon which it is based are found to be false. In short, the masses must carry their sovereignty in their own hands.

As noticed to-day, "you can not cheat all men all the time". The point is to spread such education abroad as will minimize the number of the men who must learn through first being cheated. So long as their number is large the capitalist class will not lack for "Socialists" to act as decoy ducks.

BANK MERGERS.

Consolidation and Absorption Continues in the Financial World.

Since 1900, when the fever to merge banks was at its flood, the National Banks have been conspicuously active in this respect. During the four or more years indicated, 110 banks in the national system have gone into voluntary liquidation for the purpose of uniting with other banks; some of which have since been themselves absorbed. For example, the National Broadway of this city which in 1901, absorbed the National Commercial Bank, was absorbed by the Mercantile National Bank in 1903. At the same time the Mercantile National absorbed the Seventh National Bank, making three absorptions by this institution. Again, this was the case with the National Bank of Redemption, of Boston. This bank after absorbing the Shoe & Leather National in 1901, was itself taken over by the First National in 1904.

In the number of bank amalgamations in the United States since 1900, Boston leads the list with a total of twelve during that period. New York follows with ten and Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Chicago have had eight, four and three respectively. The larger cities, however, do not stand alone in the number of important mergers; Providence, Rhode Island and Fall River, Mass., each boast of one institution that has taken over three others.

The year 1904 was an important one in the history of bank mergers. In Cleveland, the Euclid Park National, after two absorptions in 1903, took over the Bankers' and State Nationals last year. The Bank of Pittsburg took over two large banks, the Iron City National and Merchants' & Manufacturers' National, and the National Bank of Redemption, of Boston, was absorbed by the First National. During the same period two important mergers took place in New York City. The Central National was absorbed by the National Citizens' and the title changed to the Citizens' Central National; and the Leather Manufacturers' National was merged with the Mechanics' National. During the present year twenty-five or thirty mergers have already taken place, the most recent and important being the merger in San Francisco of the Nevada National with the Wells-Fargo Bank. The First National of Cincinnati, has taken over the National Lafayette, and the merchants' National of the same city has absorbed the Equitable National.

EXPLOSIONS BY THE BUSHEL.

(Continued from page 1.)
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It either has no mind on the subject or if it has, it lacks the moral courage to speak out in plain language.

James H. Arnold.

WANTED: ORGANIZER-SOLICITOR!

The three States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island are prepared to place a permanent organizer-solicitor in the field.

Comrade E. J. Dillon, who had accepted the position, had to give it up on account of ill health; therefore, any comrade who feels inclined to fill the vacancy and accept the position is requested to communicate with
Fred Fellermann,
2 State street, Hartford, Conn.

WAGES

A Flash Light On the Delusions Regarding High-Salaried Employees.

The following two items, from a commercial magazine published by the Fairchild Company, give a presentation of facts. The first one, evidently by an un-class conscious workman, and entitled "Think It Over," appeared in the May 26 issue of the above magazine. The following one—the answer to it—by a class conscious capitalist, and entitled "The Point of View" appeared in the June 9 issue. I believe that both combined throw a flash light upon the delusions so often advanced by the commercial magazines anent the high salaried employee.

"The Point of View" is especially interesting. It reveals the consistent economics of employers. It correctly holds supply and demand to be the regulator of wages. Yet it also practically holds that low wages are essential to high wages, in that they enforce that thrift and economy which spur a man on to secure high wages. If supply and demand regulate wages, how can "incentives" increase them? Isn't this a contradiction? Apparently, but not really, so. The fact of the matter is that this employer is creating a demand among low-waged men for high-waged jobs. He is using this demand to beat down high-wages. A low-waged man getting, say \$18 a week, spurred on by capitalist "incentive", will secure a \$25.00 a week man's job at \$20 a week. The \$25 a week man may object, but the boss, knowing the "incentives" of the \$18 a week man, i. e., the supply of labor on hand, will say "get out." The \$18 a week man gets \$20. He certainly advances \$2. But the real gainer will be the employer who will pocket \$5 a week from this operation of the law of supply and demand. Capitalist "incentive" always works to Labor's injury and Capital's gain, under the laws of Capitalism. There is nothing inconsistent in "The Point of View."

I.

THINK IT OVER.

A gentleman who has had experience in almost every capacity in the retail clothing business said a few days ago that the greatest mistake that a merchant can make in the employment of department managers or buyers is to, beat them down in salary. "A man's mind must be free from all care and worry about his own affairs to do the best work," he said, "and if he must practice the strictest economy to make ends meet it is certain that he will not be able to give his best efforts to his position. No argument is made against the practice of economy, but the fact that a man must exercise care in order to live always tends to cause worry."

"Any man will be worth much more to a merchant who can give his whole and undivided attention to business. He must plan his campaigns, decide upon the manner in which he will display and sell his goods, see what the demands of his patrons are and arrange to meet them and look after the thousand and one details that come to everyone. Then, if he does the buying also, he has an additional load of responsibility."

"What can a man do with all this work if he is thinking about the necessities at home and how he is going to meet some necessary expense without the money in sight? Would it not be much better to pay him enough to relieve his mind of all such thoughts? Would his work not be worth all the additional salary that would be required to free him from thoughts of this kind?"

"These are things, of course, that every merchant must decide for himself but at the same time it would be well to ponder over them carefully." What applies to the manager might also apply to the salespeople to a large degree.

II.

THE POINT OF VIEW.

I read with interest the article, "Think It Over," which appeared in your last issue, and would like to present a few arguments on the other side. The price of labor is regulated, more than any other commodity, by demand and supply. If you can hire a man to do your work for \$2 a day, you'll not pay him \$3. So manifestly, from the employer's standpoint, where he is giving his employee his full salary worth, he cannot afford to raise his pay to an amount greater than the man is worth to him—he must instead hire a man who can subsist on the salary he can rightfully earn.

In the next point, is the enforced economy which he must practice under this compensation he fairly earns such a hardship? By this economy I mean not an exaggerated poverty, but that condition which must give up the luxuries and limit the necessities of life. Admittedly "a man's mind must be free from great care or worry about his own affairs to do the best work," but that "if he practice the strictest economy to

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make ends meet, it is certain that he will not be able to give his best efforts to his position." I am not so certain. In many cases this enforced economizing acts as a great stimulus and prod to additional efforts, particularly to a man not naturally ambitious, encouraging greater exertions toward more remunerative positions. I recall the instance of a young man who married at the age of twenty-three, when he was filling a position at \$10 a week. This had paid his way before marriage, but he realized it was insufficient to the demands of married life. There was left him the choice of two courses—either he must change positions, with but little prospect of thereby bettering his circumstances, or he must temporarily exercise a strict economy in his living and make himself more valuable to his house. He did the latter. Before he had been a lazy, shiftless sort of fellow—he barely earned his \$10 a week and quickly spent it. But he changed. He practiced the most careful economy, buckled down to work, paid close attention to business, and so increased his worth to his firm that in a remarkably short time he was promoted to a very lucrative and responsible position, with a salary sufficiently increased so he now lives in comparative ease.

This is not an exceptional instance. There are many cases where if men could but realize that to draw more money they must earn more money, they would make themselves of much increased value to their employers.

The proper order is not for the employer to give his employee a raise in salary, which his work is not worth, merely to relieve him from a practice of economy for which he himself is responsible and which should prove a benefit to him, but for the employee to earn more money in order to draw more salary.

Some men find it a hardship to practice economy on any salary. The question is, would a slightly increased wage better their condition? Some men are of such a nature that they are bound to spend all they make. If their salary is raised, their expenses increase accordingly. Could their salary be increased sufficiently to "relieve their mind of all such thoughts?" And if such were possible would it be logical or just, from the employer's standpoint, to invest in the mere possibility of the man's growing to his increased salary, to give him a compensation greater than the man's earning power?

An Employer.
Retail Clerk.

The Right Road for Socialism

SPECIAL INTERVIEW WITH

DR. ROBERT MICHELS

(By J. S. Grose, London, England, for the Daily and Weekly People and The Edinburgh "Socialist.")

Michels impresses one to start with; a man of six feet three inches or thereabout generally does, and when allied with magnificent physique one gets the impression of mental attributes in proportion, the effect is telling. Two revolutionary Socialists are not as a rule long in coming to business and ere I had been many minutes in our comrade's company we were discussing the "Burning Question," the red hot question, in fact, of Socialist principle and tactics.

First, I elicited from Michels the curious fact that the German Social Democratic party think that all the Socialists in England are in the Social Democratic Federation. The thing struck me at once as absurd, and one that could be remedied by the regular posting of a dozen copies of each issue of "The Socialist" to German comrades.

"The great question 'Reform or Revolution,' seems to be agitating the German party as it does all others?" was my opening query.

"Yes," said Michels, "the need for a revolutionary spirit in the German party is great. I and others are striving to create that spirit. The parliamentarianism of the party and its tactics in the past have so tied its hands that one feels its energy is being, to a great extent, run to earth and wasted."

"You believe that tactics should coincide with principle and always be subordinated to it?"

"Yes. The Socialist representative should be a propagandist. Every move in Parliament should be for the purpose of propagating our views. Always! Always! The Government should be voted against never supported. The German government is carried on in the most autocratic manner. Ministers are not responsible to the parliament or the people; they are responsible to one man. We have still the remains of feudalism flickering with some strength in our landlord class. The German nobles have not become merged with the bourgeoisie as your English nobility have. The Judiciary and administrative powers are conserved in the hands of the nobility and they govern with the iron rod."

"Your nobility has then still some of the license of feudalism?"

"Of course. The ancestral home of a noble cannot be attacked for any debt he has contracted. It is inviolable—not amenable to the common law, the property of the family and kept sacred from the hands of commoners."

"Your Trades Unions in Germany: are they Socialist in spirit?"

"No. Many Socialists belong to them but one would describe them best as utopian. They are not formed on class conscious as your English movements are. They approximate more to a genuine workers' union perhaps, but, of course, on the craft basis."

"In England the idea with the 'Socialist' parties has been to conquer the existing Trades Unions. The Socialist Labor Party recognizes, however, the futility of attempting this, and are therefore prepared, as soon as they feel themselves strong enough as a political party, to build up Socialist Trade Unions. Is that the course you would recommend?"

"Certainly. That is the only course,

the only way. 'Conquest' is the futile method. If we would have an economic organization of Labor as one wing of the Socialist Movement, drilled and disciplined in Socialist tactics, we have got to take the raw material and build up the organization ourselves."

"What do you think of the Chicago Convention?"

"Well, it is most difficult to judge of the conditions of another country. In fact, these questions are so complex that one feels diffident as to giving an opinion on a matter of this kind."

"Do you think that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance should demand the endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party and withdraw if that is not carried?"

"No. I think that if, in the judgment of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the convention means business on the lines laid down, it would be well not to press the recognition of the Socialist Labor Party. That will follow as a consequence of the tactics (provided they are straight) of the new labor organization."

"Coming back to Socialism in England, what would you think the correct line to pursue. For instance, would you think it good tactics for a Socialist party to call upon their members to cast their votes for either of the capitalist parties, under any circumstances whatsoever?"

"No. Under no circumstances should the Socialist be called upon to vote other than distinctly Socialist. It is confusion, bad discipline, and prevents the workers keeping the class conscious aim of Socialism always to the front."

"And in the case of money offered by either of the capitalist parties, their representatives, or individuals known as capitalist politicians, should we accept, supposing no conditions are attached?"

"Why will they offer it? Will it be because they are anxious to support ideas they are opposed to, or to spread class ideas inimical to their class interests? Is not capitalism class conscious?"

The line for Socialism is no connection with the enemy. Always front the opposing force in a fighting attitude."

"That is what the S. L. P. proposes and does."

"I am glad to know it."

Madame Michels then explained to me the co-operative movement in Germany. While it is in sympathy with the Socialist movement, it is prevented by law from being anything but a benefit society to its members. It can take no political side nor can its funds be used for political purposes.

The position of woman is also peculiar. She has no legal right to be a member (in the business sense) of the party. She can attach herself to no branch, nor can she take a part in a meeting, but she may be invited to speak at a meeting.

Both Dr. Michels and his wife are class conscious Socialists and their influence inside the German party can only be for good. Intellectually able in a high degree they represent the best, true spirit of modern Socialism. It was my great pleasure to be able to entertain them for a few hours of their brief stay in England. I trust they will go back able to tell the German comrades that there are Socialists in this country working on direct class war lines and thus forming the British link in the worldwide, class-conscious Socialist Party.

On the Chicago Manifesto

(Conclusion. See Letter Box, Page 5.)

From G. F. Lombard, Member Socialist Labor Party.

Boston, May 25.—I have re-read the Chicago Manifesto and Comrade De Leon's "Confession of Faith" and the letters of the other comrades, and I find that I am in agreement with Comrade Cox and Jas. A. McConnell than with the other comrades. It seems to me that some of the comrades take too much for granted concerning evolutionary development. It appears to be agreed that the political and economic parts of the socialist movement are but wings, or legs, of substantially the same organization—that one trying to get along without the other is like a man trying to walk with one leg, etc. Yet, it is argued that if a purely economic, or one-leg-man organization is established by the Chicago convention, it will surely "ripen" or "gravitate" into a whole-man organization in the course of time. This, however, is by no means certain. Evolutionary development is often at a point where the roads fork; to be shaped one way or another according as certain influences may affect it. To simply change the form of organization from "trade unionism" to "industrial unionism" is, no

unite. One organization would not sap the energy of the working class so much as two or more organizations would.

II.

From G. H. Royal, Member Socialist Labor Party.

Lampasas, Texas, May 18.—Comrade Olive M. Johnson divides the supporters of the proposition to send delegates to the Chicago convention into four bodies, which leaves me out. I said by all means send delegates instructed and competent to uphold the contention of the class conscious proletariat, that it is impossible to do anything by legislation, arbitration or economic organization that will in the slightest degree permanently better the condition of the wage slave pending the annihilation of capitalism. It is simply idiotic to suppose the convention will do what we can endorse,

Nevertheless it will be a favorable opportunity to proclaim the fact that organization on the economic field alone is utterly impotent while the land and machinery of production are privately owned.

III.

From A. J. Boland, Secretary D. A. 4, S. T. & L. A.

Jersey City, N. J., May 24.—While our New Jersey District Alliance unanimously endorsed Comrade De Leon's position as a proposed delegate to the Chicago convention, I have met two former alliance men who are badly twisted on account of Comrade Cox's position in the matter. As our national organizer, Comrade Bohn, believes the principles of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance will be the bases of this to date evolution of the absolutely necessary "economic union," it might be well to state that the constitutional paragraphs of the Alliance mentioned by Comrade Cox are subject to change at this month's convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance; and further if the convention of the Socialist Labor Party had been aware of the fact that the new union was to be launched, there would have been a different vote registered on a strict interpretation of working class membership. But as the Socialist Labor Party platform demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class its tactics for some time to come will be endorsed as long as the party sees fit to exist as the advance guard of the Labor Movement.

IV.

From M. Weil, Sympathizer of the Socialist Labor Party.

New York, June 4.—Referring to the discussion now on, I beg for space to express my opinion. It seems from the several opinions that have been given, which I have read, in relation to the coming Chicago Convention, that these several expressions will result in dividing the membership, unless controlled by cool heads. I have no doubt as to the honesty of these voices. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance will decide what action is to be taken. I believe that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance should not send delegates; it is a sign of weakening and discouragement. Should there be individuals dissatisfied with the methods of pure and simple unions or American Labor Union tactics, they will come to the only class-conscious body in existence. And no doubt this dissatisfaction exists, therefore this call. Probably the bodies that have issued this call see the disrupting of same and, in order to get out of the wet, are willing to compromise—there may be a job for them in the new organization. Beware what step is taken!

It will be said that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is willing to back a step if the others will come up a step. There should be no receding from its position, which is correct. After having condemned the "Socialist" party are you to sit with and have them decide against you! Or the American Labor Union methods or Western Federation of Miners tactics, a la Colorado? They are drowning and want to hold on, but the rank and file are awakening. Let the class-conscious ones come, they will not come till then. The American Labor Union is a half-baked class-conscious body by clamoring for this new organization, they know of one in existence. The name should not scare them. There is a lot of work ahead of you to wring prejudice and dishonesty out of individuals. You will have to do this while conditions are such.

To my mind should the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance decide to send delegates, the endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party does not amount to much. That body is an economic and a political organization, and only the un-class-conscious will vote detrimental to his interest. At any rate, the Capitalist Class will not be counted out. They are not as easy as that, and in all probability will wrest the ballot from the workers. When the workers are united industrially on Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance principles, they must act accordingly. Let the mountain come to you. You have been patient, now they are impatient. You have played your part, let them act theirs.

V.

From John M. Francis, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Du Quoin, Ill., June 7.—The discussion

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

And the Class Struggle—A Detroit View of the Two.

(Special Correspondence.)

Detroit, Mich., June 12.—The following are extracts from a paper prepared by Mr. Alfred L. Kline, and read at the sixth educational meeting of the Architectural Wire, Iron and Metal Workers' Union, No. 4, of this city:

"Industrial Unionism is the name of that form of organization which is the natural and logical outgrowth of present economic system, and will eventually replace the old form of craft divided so-called organizations of the 'Sam Gompers type,' which have not only proven themselves to be insufficient to cope with organized and militant capitalism, but with their perverse system of Chinese Wall high initiation fees, high dues, restriction of apprentices, promotion of race hatred, by excluding all but whites, and many other Guild devices; have become a barrier to the further progress of the working class movement here in America.

"As explained by Mr. Charles H. Corregan, on his visit to Detroit, during the last national campaign, Capitalism is like a lead pencil standing on end. You stand it up. Let go, it falls over. It requires something to prop or brace it up. And this is exactly what the pure and simple labor unions have been doing for years. For are not Sam Gompers, John Mitchell, James O'Connell and other 'labor leaders,' members of the American Civic Federation—a capitalist institution organized for the purpose of promoting the brotherhood of capital and labor? Do they not claim that the interests of the capitalist and the wage worker are identical? Does not the American Federation of Labor hold to the motto: 'A Fair Day's Wages for a Fair Day's Work,' thereby upholding the wages system of slavery?"

"The natural tendency of capitalism toward concentration, combinations and trustification of immense corporations have been constantly going on; and, at the present time, we find that those who are on the inside of these combinations have developed into a small but powerful class, because they practically control the industries of this country. On the other hand we find that the capitalists who have not yet got on the inside are developing into a large, but unpowerful class, i. e., the middle class.

"The middle class must depend upon the capitalist class proper for their raw material, transportation, communication, etc. The latter being in a non-competitive position, except in foreign markets, are enabled to fix prices and rates. At such enormous figures that it is almost impossible for the middle class man to get on the Chicago Manifesto, to my mind, has simmered down to indorsement or non-endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party, and, again to my mind, all are partly right and almost all are wrong, that is, have not touched the vital point which all seem to be gravitating toward, and that is this:

The foundation of the new structure must be perfectly substantial enough to support the building, or in time it will topple over. Now, it seems to me that it should be something like this: That there should be a clause or clauses in the constitution or ritual that will prevent political log-rolling.

When the Socialist Labor Party said economic log-rolling had to stop, and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was launched, that was the starting point toward ousting the fakirs from the movement, which culminated in full in 1890. Now, to my mind, the same will occur in the new organization if not started right in full. We should learn from experience; and always remember the capitalists are not napping, and remember our underlying principle: that material interests dominate man's actions.

Hoping our masons and carpenters, that is, delegates, will see that everything is made O. K. or refuse to work, I am, for the cause of the proletariat.

VI.

From George Franklin, Member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Spokane, Wash., June 4.—In the last issue of the Weekly People appears a letter on the Chicago Manifesto from George W. Brooks, member Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. He seems to have gotten his views of De Leon from the capitalist press. No matter what the latter may say of him, De Leon has only one vote in the party; and is governed by its votes and resolutions.

Comrade Brooks also referred to Hagerly and Duggan as though they were opportunists. We don't care what they say, but what they mean, as shown by their actions. And the comrades who draw analogies from the body should remember that Socialism is not a belly, or a foot, but a mind also.

I am in favor of sending Comrade De Leon as a delegate to the Chicago Convention.

on the inside of a trust or combine. The capitalist by means of the weapons at his command is assuming control over the retail trades. In the past it was customary to sell the manufactured article at wholesale prices to the retailer, but now conditions are changing so rapidly that the capitalist is forced to sell the products he manufactures from the raw material to the consumer direct.

"The capitalists have to look to foreign markets for an outlet. Most of the exports, consist of machinery. American machinery on the whole, is more efficient than that of foreign countries. This very act alone places the European countries upon an equal footing with the United States, and created the very force which is to turn against us in the world's markets. From what I have said it is seen why the downfall of the middle class man is inevitable. They are, however, aware of the danger arising from the trusts and are seen frantically endeavoring to inaugurate reform measures by which they hope to smash the trusts. In Michigan we see them trying to adopt primary election reforms, by which they hope to put men in office who will vote against injurious railroad legislation, and also to break up the political machine which is so disastrous to their interests. But at the same time we find that they are ignorant of the fact that they are creating those very forces which will aim at their disfranchisement when they are reduced to the ranks of the proletariat. From the continued displacing of the middle class by the capitalist class proper it is evident that there is a constant struggle between these two classes; and, as capitalism develops, this struggle must necessarily become intensified and will force the belligerents to use every means in their possession to gain an advantage over their adversaries. The tactics used in the past by the middle class of the country were confined mostly to the political organizations. The capitalist proper also used these political organizations but they have still another method by the aid of which they are enabled to gain their ends, namely that of the Trades Union Movement. By electing officers of the American Federation of Labor into their Civic Federation they have been able to use them to great advantage by inducing them to instigate strikes on small competitors, by advising the men to remain at work in their own industries, by withdrawing support to those who are on strike, by turning them over to one-sided boards or arbitration, and by the aid of their trade agreements expiring on different dates, they compel one craft to 'scab it' on another when they go on strike.

"The capitalist class, taken as a whole, is the only thoroughly class conscious body in existence, and we therefore find that their National Civic Federation upholds the Gompers' style of unionism because the A. F. of L. can be of great service to them. They are well aware of the fact that once the pure and simple unions are disrupted, there soon will be a rapid march toward Socialism. They also know that the power of disfranchising the working class lays in their hands and further, that the political organization of the working class is absolutely useless without a class conscious industrial organization to back it up, and any one who will take notice of the efforts they are making of late to reorganize the American Federation of Labor and also of the false light they are throwing on the Chicago convention, called for June 27, will perceive this fact.

"At the present time the army of unemployed in the United States numbers between five and ten millions. It is plain to be seen that so long as the present economic system exists that the condition of the working class cannot be materially improved, therefore, to be true to its economic pretensions, the new industrial organization must stand for the overthrow of the present system and demand the full product of their labor, but this cannot be obtained without first taking hold of the machinery of production and this is eventually the purpose for which the organization is being formed, i. e., to take over the means of production.

"One thing that must be remembered is that the changing of the form of the economic organization does not necessarily change its effectiveness. You can have a pure and simple craft union and you can also have a class conscious craft union. Any industrial union that holds that the interests of the capitalist and wage worker are mutual and does not recognize the irrepressible class conflict between the disinherited masses and the owners of the machinery of production is a pure and simple union. Pure and simpledom is not applied to the trades unions because they do not allow politics in the union as claimed by many of the labor fakirs, but it is so-called because of its false economic pretensions. It claims to stand for labor yet upholds capitalism. At the present time there is a great difference of opinion in labor circles as to whether the economic organization should affiliate with its political expression. I hold that such

affiliation is unnecessary and useless and can be of no benefit to the working class and probably do a great deal of harm.

"The class struggle is of an economic and not of a political character and for this very reason class instinct has and will lead the working class to organize on the economic field. The thing to do is to get an organization with a correct basic principle and everything springing therefrom is likely to be consistent with present conditions. In the measure that you are able to make a man class conscious in the economic organization will the necessity of political action become apparent. It is easier to strike at the ballot box than to starve. Politics implies power and protection, protection of economic interests, and political organization or political action is only necessary where there is an economic organization to protect. There is an old saying that if you cannot vote straight you cannot shoot straight, but an economic organization that is not a job trust will leave so few outside of the union that the capitalist will not get sufficient numbers to supply the militia in spite of their recent law.

"Another point that is not often thought of is that the working class are not going to organize as a whole into a political body for the opportunity to strike once a year, therefore, it will not contain the bulk of the working class, and the economic organization will therefore force the political to abide by its dictations, and if it does not do so it will prove false to the best interests of the working class.

"While the social revolution is nearing its end the only work required of the economic organization will be to force the would-be upholders of capitalism to abide by the working class laws, and the management of the machinery of production.

"To my mind the disfranchisement of the working class is not far off, and the sooner they are industrially organized the better will they be able to cope with the situation, because as soon as that occurs the capitalist class will have full control and will even try to stop communication and the publication of anything that is detrimental to their interests and this will make it harder to organize than ever.

For the reasons I have given, I think that I am justified in standing for no political affiliation and hope that no one will try to push or make such a motion or resolution at the Chicago convention.

The last meeting of the series was addressed by Mr. William Goodhue Monday, June 10. Subject: "Can Trades Unions Win Without Political Action?" June 10, we also balloted for two delegates to the Chicago convention.

As soon as consistent after the Chicago convention a meeting will be called to review the work of the convention, and the speakers of the series just closed will be invited to give their opinions. Meeting are held at Becker's Hall, corner Adams avenue and Antoine street. Admission free to all.

THE DIFFERENCE.

(Continued from page 1.)

This city is a sort of distributing point for Japanese who come from the Sacramento Valley, scores each day, and are shipped to Southern Utah where, according to the press, the beet sugar industry needs an abundance of cheap labor, and to points on the different railroads. (The railroads draw the color line for Ogden only). There is a Japanese employment agency here; also a hospital. At a Japanese restaurant where the regulation price (fifteen cents) is charged for meals, may be seen, at almost any hour, well dressed men, shabby men, black men, brown men, and men of every tongue elbowing each other in democratic fashion at the tables and lunch counter. The Japanese are invariably neat and tidy, living up to Booker Washington's tooth brush standard of personal cleanliness.

America is the place of places for proletarians of all lands to come and SUFFER and, looking each other in the eye, recognize their common interest and brotherhood. To the end that our mutual introduction may be accompanied with peace rather than bloodshed let the Japanese as well as the other workingmen throughout the world attune their Socialism to the clear notes of the Socialist Labor Party, and, should necessity drive them on these shores we will rejoice, for their Socialism will be the protection of ourselves and our children. If, disregarding all the dictates of reason our comrades over seas make the sad mistake of compromising truth to gain a fictitious strength in numbers, then, indeed, are they endangering not only their own, but our safety as well. As Franklin said: "He who sacrifices essential liberty for a little temporary safety" (?) deserves neither liberty nor safety."

The "Socialist" party estimates its strength at the ballot box, reposes all confidence and the life of the party in the hands of a few leaders whose actions and words, honest or dishonest, are seen and heard by a few only of the rank and

file. The smallest sub-division of the party is called a local and local it is with a vengeance, for no paper or means of receiving or giving intelligence from or to other locals is afforded by the party organization. Up a couple of notches is the state organization, which may neither interfere nor be interfered with. Is it any wonder that the disconnected parts which purport to be the "American" Socialist movement are constantly at war with each other? In order to do any good at all an honest "leader" must ride rough shod over the party constitution and the "Kangaroos" in control of the National Committee. In witness whereof know ye that one Gilbert of Salt Lake, in violation of that clause in the constitution which prohibits one limb of the party from scratching another, has published a letter which practically accuses those in control of the party of corruption and grafting that would shame the central figure in a ring of past masters in the art. Mr. Gilbert, to his credit be it said, is unpopular with the powers that be for the crime of advocating industrialism, although he tempests his criticism with a disavowal of any intention to accuse dishonesty that sounds a good deal like the retraction of the old time philosopher who was forced to content himself by saying mentally, "The earth do move."

However honest the rank and file and some of the leaders of the "Socialist" party may be, the slip shod "hurrah boys" organization which belittles the intelligence of the workers, teaches no tactics or class unionism and furnishes no channel, no press for free expression and universal hearing of proletarian speech; such an organization can only serve to deliver the workers divided, bound and gagged on the political field as they have, to their cost, been repeatedly delivered on the economic field by the A. F. of L. The Socialist Labor Party is to-day the only vehicle laden with and fit to carry undefiled the principles of International Socialism; its self-owned, self-controlled press ever holds the language of self respect to the workers and even in the criticism and richly deserved floggings it administers to the workers' enemies and misleaders it teaches the principles and tactics which the working class must adopt if it would come peacefully to its own. Unhampered by any but working class interests the Socialist Labor Party has long taught industrial unionism, which is but another name for class conscious unionism. Being a class conscious body it fears no split on that or any other issue for the simple reason that wherever self-seeking or self-importance crop up and threaten danger an enlightened rank and file put them out of business.

If this be intolerance give us more and more of it until labor and labor's true friends are in the Socialist Labor Party, and labor's enemies, in fear and trembling, are in another party, with short shrift for those too cowardly to be in either.

A "Socialist" Party Member.

J. BEVERLEY SMITH.

(Continued from page 1.)

"the mutual government" that J. Beverly says "is best for both sides"? It is to laugh; and the lithographers are laughing. While doing so they call Smith blessed—a lighter of our sorrows!

Smith's desire to keep carpenter apprentices out of the artist's department, in order to enhance the technique of the business is laudable from the employers' standpoint; but where does the employee come in? Suppose nothing but born artists are admitted, Smith will be filling the art branch with apprentices; and, as wages are regulated by the supply and demand of labor, it is plain to see that the industry will be raised a few pegs nearer "the highest standard" once more—at the workers' expense. All of which causes more merriment, and enhances J. Beverly's reputation.

But as we have sufficiently enjoyed J. Beverly's contribution to the hilarity of the race, let us conclude by referring the reader to "The History of the Litho. Strike," published in 1896. There he will find, from the testimony submitted during the arbitration, that the artists' wages then averaged close on to \$20 a week. Since then they have declined. All of which will let loose some more guffaws regarding that "\$40 to \$125 a week" fairy story inspired by our litho. friend and race benefactor, J. Beverly Smith.

Brooklynian.

ARBETAREN

Swedish Weekly Organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

ISSUED EVERY THURSDAY.
SUBSCRIPTION:—One year, \$1.50; Six months, 75 cents; Three months, 40 cents. Sample Copy Free.

Liberal Commission to Agents.

ARBETAREN,

2-6 New Reade street, New York City.
P. O. Box 341.

Published Every Saturday by the
Socialist Labor Party.

Entered as second-class matter at the
New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED
STATES:

In 1888.....	2,068
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	34,191
In 1904.....	34,172

All the past we leave behind,
We debase upon a newer, mightier
world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize,
World of labor and we march,
Pioneers O, Pioneers!

—WALT WHITMAN.

A CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK.

As ducks take to mill-ponds and goats
tend to the woods; so does the clergy
of Capitalism instinctively sniff the air
that gives it life. The Rev. Robert S.
MacArthur, one of the most enraptured
praise-singers and canonizers of Rocke-
feller, illustrates the point. Decent
people have long been full of condemna-
tion for Russia. The flood of condemna-
tion was not dammed even by the
assurances of the Rev. De Witt C. Tal-
mage that the Czar was "a good
Christian man." Russian barbarism,
doused with the hypocrisy of so-called
civilization, lashed on the indignation;
it swamped the Talmages and no ruling
class, the world over, was and is more
generally execrated than the Russian.
But now comes the Rev. MacArthur and
assigns a different reason for his satis-
faction at the victories of Japan and for
his detestation of Russia. It is not that
the Russian government is bar-
barous, it is not that the Russian gov-
ernment is hypocritical—not these are
the reasons of the Rev. gentleman's
disgust for Russia. That about Russia
that disgusts him is that there are in
Russia only 130 working days!

The old Protestant blood is up and
boiling in the Rev. MacArthur's veins.
The guild-masters of old felt as wroth
as the modern capitalist pulpiter at
the numerous holidays enjoyed by their
apprentices and guaranteed to them by
the then Catholic Church. That wroth-
ness fanned the flames of the religious
Reformation; and the material interests
at its bottom, the interests that gave it
solidity, saw to it that a new creed
was set up that would sweep away the
holidays, and thus deprive the appren-
tices (workingmen) of the religious pre-
text to insist upon enjoying their lives,
and furnish the guild-masters (oncoming
capitalists) with the requisite religious
pretext to whack more profits out of
their employees.

In the matter of holidays, Russia is
still archaic—too archaic for the modern
capitalist soul of the MacArthurs. For
these there can be no crime comparable
to that of potential Labor enjoying hol-
idays, and thereby depriving the Guild
Capital of the profits that he might coin
into long figures of bank deposits. La-
bor enjoying holidays and not toiling
and mulling for the capitalist is the
abomination of desolation in the eyes
of Capitalism—and consequently in the
eyes also of the Protestant clergy, who,
like the MacArthurs, have remained true
to the spirit that inspired their creed.

GOOD FOR THESE ETC'S.

Among the races that are called
"backward" by the agencies of the Civic
Federation, the Swedes will ever be
found. The "dull Swede," the "dumb
Swede" and many more such terms of
opprobrium are bestowed upon the
Swedes by the Gompers crew. Some of
these gentry are puffed up enough with
their own conceit to believe what they
say; others know better; but both,
whether better informed or not, obey the
behests of the Belmont-Parry cap-
italist interests, in whose interest it is
to set race against race, color against
color, creed against creed, nationality
against nationality, and thus hinder that
solidification of the ranks of the Work-
ing Class without which the reign of
the exploiting capitalist will be eternal.
But true to its spirit of inherent con-
tradiction, the Capitalist Class ever it-
self furnishes the means to give itself
the lie. It has just now done so in
Sweden.

Tired of being bullied by the
King and ruling class of Sweden, Nor-
way dissolved the bonds of wedlock
with the latter country. The King and
ruling class of Sweden threatened gory
threats, but almost immediately desist-
ed. What caused them to? Was it
Norway's firm front? Not that. What
made them desist was the emphatic
stand taken by the alleged "backward"
people, the Working Class of Sweden.
Unaffected by the claptrap of "patriot-

ism," unmoved by the myth of "national
dignity," untrifled by the pretence of
"national break-down," unmystified by
the cant of "flag and land"—in short,
soberly recognizing that a nation has
the right to be independent, and soberly
realizing that a war with Norway spelt
the mutual butchery of the Working
Class of the two realms, the Swedish
workmen gave notice that they re-
fused to be intoxicated with "enthusi-
asm" to lay down their lives for the
benefit of their plunderers. They de-
clared plump and plain that they would
not go to war. Who among the spout-
ers of "superior" races would have
struck so manly, so wise, so noble a
posture?—Not one! As hirelings of
Capitalism and beneficiaries of the A.
F. of Hell they would promptly have
passed the resolutions "handed down"
to them.

The two employees of the Volkszeitung
Corporation, one of whom is the
candidate for Mayor of the Corpora-
tion's party, who at Amsterdam sought
to squirt into the Congress the A. F.
of Hell spirit of setting up one set of
workmen as superior to another,
enumerated some of the "backward"
races and covered the unenumerated ones
with a broad "Etc." No doubt the
Swedes were embraced in that "Etc."
Good for these "Etc's"! They have
given a lesson to the "superior" Volks-
zeitung Corporation and its party or-
ganization, that is run by placemen and
beneficiaries of the "superior" A. F. of
Hell labor-lieutenants of the Civic Fed-
eration.

ARCADES AMBO.

A rather innocent sympathizer of the
Socialist Labor Party sends to this of-
fice a clipping of the New York "Jour-
nal" or "American" containing a two-
column boom for the Social Democratic
party's candidates in the pending May-
oralty campaign; the article is headed
with flaming headlines, pictures and
other fly-paper attractions common to
yellow journalism; the Socialist Labor
Party's sympathizer forwards the clip-
ping with the angry comment: "What
kind of Socialists be these?" Our cor-
respondent should not be angry. He
should recognize in the event the fitness
of things.

Go down the list of the three candi-
dates. There is Mr. Algernon Lee. The
gentleman is the Editor of a paper
which pronounced "an exaggeration" the
unquestionable fact that the Working
Class is robbed of four-fifths of its prod-
uct. Can the capitalist Labor skinner
Hearst's paper object to that? It is
the policy of Capitalism to claim that
Socialists exaggerate. Evils that are
exaggerated need no radical cure: re-
forms will stand. The hugeness of the
plunder levied by the Capitalist Class
upon the Working Class is of the es-
sence of the issue. Tone down the fact,
and the essence evaporates. Mr. Lee's
conduct in repeating the capitalist false-
hood that Socialists exaggerate when
they claim that Labor is robbed in
America of four-fifths of its product,
suits Hearst to a t. Deny that Socialist
claim under existing conditions, and the
Marxian law of values and of wages is
scuttled. Can a Hearst want any bet-
ter?

Again, the same gentleman put his
signature at the Amsterdam Congress
to a resolution that was meant to
rupture Socialism in the matter of
the solidarity of the Working Class.
He wanted to establish a distinction
between "backward" workingmen and
others. It was a blow aimed at the
heart of Socialism, and the bolt was
taken from Belmont's A. F. of L. ar-
senal. The Capitalist Class ever seeks
to disrupt the workers with racial ani-
mosities. To puff up one against the
other is legitimate capitalist policy.
The Japs were resolute against the
last American Federation of Labor con-
vention, and so did Mr. Lee's proposed
resolution propose to do—agreeable to
Hearst's policy.

Again, the paper edited by the gen-
tleman takes pay from capitalist ad-
vertisers to humbug the workers. Quite
recently, it took pay from a capitalist
insurance concern to publish the mon-
strous lie that the concern is the "pro-
tection of one million families"! Could
Hearst out-do that in point of yellow-
ness, or in point of chicanery to Labor?

And then there is candidate Morris
Brown. In the Central Federated Union
and as a committee of that body to
Belmont during the recent Interborough
strike, Mr. Brown echoed the Gompers,
the Stone, the Belmont and the Hearst
paper's lie that the strikers had broken
their contract. The lie was an inval-
uable club to crack the strikers over the
head with. The lie implied another lie,
the lie that Belmont had lived up to his
contract. The lie implied that Labor
must submit to capitalist outrage. It
was an act of base betrayal of the
Working Class. The fact suggests the
question, How much did the Browns get
for that act of treason? But the ques-
tion leads away from the subject in
hand, and need not here be pursued.
The fact of the lie is, however, ample
to explain the love, and affection of
Hearst's paper for Brown. Hearst's

paper echoed and re-echoed the lie dur-
ing the strike, and such was the attitude
of Hearst's paper at the time that the
strikers kicked out from their meetings
the reporter of that paper together with
the reporters of the other cap-
italist papers, Mr. Brown's "Volkszeitung"
included. Any wonder at the friendly
reception of the gentleman by
Hearst's paper?

Lastly, there is candidate Charles W.
Cavanaugh. What the function of the
militia is in strikes everybody knows.
The graveyard of the Labor Movement
is full with the tombstones of strikes
that were ridden to death by the militia.
A resolution, condemning such cap-
italist methods, and warning the work-
ers to keep away from the militia so
as not to have to handle the Crag-Joe-
sen rifle against their brother workers,
was introduced at the recent national
convention of the International Typo-
graphical Union: the resolution was
voted down: the convention lined up on
the side of the rifle-diet for the work-
ers: Mr. Cavanaugh, a member of that
Union, bowed low before the decision:
by his silence he implied consent: in a
matter of such vital importance, when
honor, where there is honor, and man-
hood, where there is manhood, combine
to force a protest, Mr. Cavanaugh crawled
in the dirt before the Civic-Federation-
dictated conduct of the convention
of his Union: he probably was too busy
attending to his supreme duties as treas-
urer of the Borough Park Methodist
Church to give a thought to such trifles
as the palpable endorsement by his Union
of the capitalist methods to brow-
beat Labor. Anything in this to render
Mr. Charles W. Cavanaugh objectionable
to Hearst's paper? Of course not! Did
not that paper tender its special services
as postman "to convey to the wives
and sweethearts" of the Twenty-second
Regiment the communications that the
Regiment may have wanted to send to
them when it was terrorizing the trolley
strikers at Albany?

By booming the Social Democratic
party's candidates with all the tricks
of yellow journalism, Hearst's paper
but, yellowly sums up the above enum-
eration of facts. Hearstism recognizes
on the shoulders of these gentlemen the
strawberry mark of brotherhood; it de-
fects on their brow the mark of Cain
that endears them to it. While it wisely
abstains from all allusion to the
candidates of the Socialist Labor Party,
and drops these like burning coals, it
feels it can safely, aye, profitably, hug
to its strumpet bosom the candidates of
the Social Democratic, alias Volkszeitung
Corporation party.

Arcades ambo.

"The Sun" prints a letter on "Chinese
Exclusion," from ex-Senator McLaurin
to Secretary Metcalf, dated "Bennetts-
ville, S. C., June 11," in which the fol-
lowing paragraph occurs:

"If the present rate of export keeps
up we will this year from Southern mills
send over \$30,000,000 worth of cotton
goods to China, and with the almost
limitless opportunities there for expand-
ing our trade, anything that would in-
terfere would be a national misfortune."

There is the hub of the whole anti-
Chinese exclusion movement. It is a
matter of markets! What wonders that
fact accomplishes. It causes the prospec-
tive export losses of the capitalists to be
inflated into "a national misfortune".
And it sees injustice where justice
formerly was held to prevail! 'Twas ever
thus. The interests of the dominant class
have ever been held to be identical with
those of the nation, for they are the
nation. And as these dominant interests
have been affected, so have the concepts
of national honor and justice changed!

Elsewhere in this issue, will be found
a letter from President A. W. La Wal-
laire, Local No. 1, Canadian Federation
of Shoeworkers, Montreal, Canada. It
is appropriately designated by La Wal-
laire, "a page from the history of Or-
ganized Scabbery in Eastern Canada".
The letter shows that there, as else-
where, Tobin, backed by the Bogus
Socialists of the Sieverman type and the
American Federation of Labor, is busy
"nobly waging the class struggle", i. e.,
unionizing in the interests of the cap-
italist class. In rendering Farley, the strike
breaker, unnecessary by supplying scabs
to defeat the men who refuse to be par-
ties to his unionization in the interests
of employers, and who stood by his or-
ganization in 1899, Tobin is showing his
usual treachery and ingratitude toward
the working class; and is adding another
to the reasons why employers should
prefer him from among the "labor lead-
ers" who are aspiring to fill Gompers'
shoes as the chief of the labor lieuten-
ants of the capitalists class.

First, Berger was laid up; now Titus
is going to take a three months' rest
for his overworked health. The struggle
within the "Socialist", alias Social Dem-
ocratic, alias Public Ownership party is
either exhausting its valiant leaders or
accentuating the belief that they are
weaklings—mental, physical, and other-
wise.

The Fruits of Flim-Flam

The sound of the volcanic rumblings,
the detonations of the explosions, to-
gether with the lurid lights that are
shooting up with the latter, from the
camp of the so-called Socialist, alias
Social Democratic, alias Public Own-
ership party, east, west, north and south—
these sounds and sights, heightened
and intensified by the steady and unerr-
ing canonade of the Trautmann letters,
afford a fitting setting for a certain
jewel of "tactics" that has run its
course, and is now producing its effect.
It is the "tactics" pursued by the said
party of aliases, and typified by their
"Davis Case." Off and on the People
has taken up the matter incidentally.
With this, however, as with all other
matters of importance, "season" has
much to do with success: the best of
seed needs the proper temperature to
germinate: the Socialist tenets require
capitalist conditions to cast root and
be appreciated: likewise the "Davis
Case" tactics of the polynomial party.
The season is now ripe for the thorough
handling of the matter, once for all,
and to draw from it its solemn, im-
pressive lessons.

Davis & Co. is a cigar factory in this
city. The International Cigarmakers'
Union's officers declared a strike against
the shop, but, such action notwithstanding,
the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance
cigarmakers, employed in the shop, re-
mained at work and enlarged their or-
ganization. Even persons who are not
familiar with Union matters would real-
ize from these facts that they are too
meager to base a conclusion upon, either
for or against either the International
men or the Alliance men; persons who
are familiar with Union matters would
all the quicker appreciate the meag-
ness of the facts. This not withstand-
ing, the then prospective and now
actual Civic-Federationalized labor lieuten-
ants of the Capitalist Class, with the
Volkszeitung Corporation as their head-
center, started the hue-and-cry of
"scab!" against the Alliance and the
Socialist Labor Party. Their policy
was obvious. By making a concerted
and frightful racket, they expected to
prevent the masses from reasoning and
inquiring; by rousing the unthinking
masses into an indignant up-rising, they
hoped to cow the Socialist Labor Party.
The policy was not new. Malefactors,
especially social malefactors, resort to
it instinctively. But neither is their
failure in this instance exceptional. The
policy never succeeded in the long run.
In this particular instance, the Socialist
Labor Party proved itself of too strong
fiber to be cowed, and its unterrified re-
sistance gave time for Peter to sober up.

The sobering process was aided by
the malefactors themselves. They did
not mean to, but they were bound to
proceed obedient to the law by which,
however unwilling the thistle may be,
it cannot escape proclaiming itself by
itself producing the tell-tale thorns.
This was done by the New-Haven De-
bate, the noose of which the malefactors
themselves wove, and into which they
themselves ran their heads, leaving to
the Socialist Labor Party nothing but
the agreeable function of pulling the
rope tight.

Job Harriman, whom the malefactors
had put in 1900 as their special repre-
sentative on their presidential ticket,
the same as, four years later, they
placed Ben Hanford there, traveled all
the way from California to the tune
that he would debate the Union ques-
tion with Daniel De Leon of the Social-
ist Labor Party. He was accommo-
dated. The debate took place in New
Haven on November 25, 1900. The male-
factors had expected to have the affair
in some hole in the wall—the Socialist
Labor Party foiled them, the debate was
held in the Grand Opera House; the
malefactors had expected to have the
affair before a small crowd where they
could dump their dirt mainly before
their likes—the Socialist Labor Party
foiled them, the debate was held before
a large crowd; the malefactors had ex-
pected that no record would be kept of
the speeches—the Socialist Labor Party
foiled them, the affair was taken down
stenographically, despite their refusal
to have a stenographer, and immediately
published in full. So far, everything
that the Socialist Labor Party could do
to insure FULL PUBLICITY to the
facts that were to be drawn out, and
which were drawn out, was done. But
something more was needed; that some-
thing depended not upon the Socialist
Labor Party; it depended upon the
malefactors themselves;—and once more
they were accommodating. What was
that thing? It was a publication by
themselves of the debate which they
first had sought to hush into some dark
hole. Obviously, in all such matters,
what an adversary himself issues leaves
no room for quibble. The accuracy of
the Socialist Labor Party publication
of the debate might be questioned by
light-headed men; none can question
the accuracy of what an adversary him-
self publishes about himself. At first
there was danger that this self-stultifi-
cation could not be used. As the male-

factors had no stenographer, they print-
ed the S. L. P. publication of the debate,
without indicating who the publisher
was; but the Socialist Labor Party
quietly gave them rope, and latterly
they have issued the thing in a new
cover stating that it is "published by
the Socialist Co-operative Publishing
Association, 184 William street, New
York"—the Volkszeitung Corporation.
Now we got them. It matters not they
do not give the name of the stenog-
rapher; it matters not that Harriman
recast his speech. All that matters not.
We take their statements as they ap-
pear in the publication, which now they
cannot repudiate. This is the season
to illustrate flim-flam, its tactics, its
source and its fruits.

We invite the reader's attention to
pages 25-26 of the said edition of the
debate published by the Volkszeitung
Corporation. It will there be noted
that the malefactors were compelled to
take up the only item of importance in
the facts in the "Davis Case" so as to
enable a conclusion to be formed as to
the alleged scabbery of the Socialist
Trade & Labor Alliance. That fact was
whether the Davis shop was or was not
an open shop; if it was an International
Union shop, if it was not an
open shop, then of course, to work
there during a strike would be scabbery;
if, however, it was not an International
Union shop, it was an open shop, then
the declaration of a strike against the
shop by International officers, against
the knowledge and consent of the Alli-
ance men in the shop, was simply an
act of impudence on the part of the
International officers, that the Alliance
men were no wise bound to abide by.
Was Davis's shop an open shop or not?
That is THE question. The malefactors
said it was not; the Socialist Trade &
Labor Alliance said it was. Now,
here are the facts as given in the said
Volkszeitung Corporation publication of
the debate on pages 25-26, the under-
scoring being our own:

"The following is the contract signed
by the Davis Company and the com-
mittee from the International Union:

"New York, Oct. 16, 1899.
"To those of our employees whom
it may concern: In consequence of re-
cent dissensions among certain of our
work-people, and in order to bring about
harmony, we hereby agree to pay from
date hereof, and during the year, prices
for the making of our cigars as follows
(here the list of prices is set forth, to-
gether with qualifying clauses concern-
ing those prices). THAT IF ONE OR
MORE OF OUR EMPLOYEES ARE
BEING AT ANY TIME COERED BY
OTHERS IN ORDER TO CAUSE
THEM AGAINST THEIR OWN FREE
WILL AND JUDGMENT TO JOIN ANY
ONE OR CERTAIN LABOR UNIONS
WE SHALL CONSIDER THAT ACT
AS AGAINST OUR INTEREST AND
NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH PROMISE
OR UNDERSTANDING COME TO
with the said, our work-people, and as
a consequence the aforementioned list
of prices shall thereupon cease to exist
and be made null and void.

"Sam'l I. Davis & Co.,
"By August Sutherland.
"N. Rosenstein, President.
"A. Marousek, Sec.-Treas."

"And these last two men are respect-
ively the president and the secretary-
treasurer of the Advisory Board of the
International Union.

"Further, on page 16, of Davis' af-
favit he says that 'said (October) strike
was initiated, managed, directed and
controlled by the International Cigar-
makers' Union and was participated in
by the defendants above named.' (N.
Rosenstein and A. Marousek and others.)
"Thus the fact is established that
there WAS a contract between Davis
and the International Union, 'thus
clothing the International Union with
rights and duties there.'"

All the facts are here in court.
First—The contract expressly declares
the status of the open shop—the em-
ployees are not to be coerced into any
Union, if that is done the promise or
understanding is broken.

Second—The International Union hav-
ing conducted the strike which resulted
in that contract, a contract which de-
clares the Davis shop shall be an open
shop, the International Union suffered
a defeat, and by its officers records the
fact that it lost the shop, if it had the
same before, or failed to secure it, if
it did not have it.

Third—Notwithstanding the express
declarations of the contract itself, the
malefactors would have people believe
that because two of the signers of the
contract are International officers, there-
fore the stipulations of the contract
which keep the shop out of the Inter-
national Union's hands, are repealed!

Fourth—Upon the same principle,
when the treaty will be signed between
Russian and Japan, sweeping and keep-
ing Russia out of Manchuria, as com-
pletely as the International Union
was kept by the stipulations of the con-
tract out of Davis's shop, the Russians
might claim that Manchuria is their
closed shop, BECAUSE, FORSOOTH,
THE TREATY BEARS THE SIGNA-

TURE OF THE RUSSIAN PLENIPO-
TENTIARIES!!

This is flim-flam. Flim-flam breeds
flim-flam. Men who are so brainless
and undignified as to advance such ar-
guments, and to imagine that a great
historic Movement like that of Socialism
can be promoted by such imbecility and
knavery are bound to flim-flam them-
selves into perdition. The above flim-
flam was hailed by the so-called Social-
ist, alias Social Democratic, alias Pub-
lic Ownership party and re-echoed. As
the scorpion carries with it the poison
that destroys it, so does flim-flam. It
bred a brood of flim-flam that is doing
its work to perfection. The identical
flim-flam involved in the reasoning that
the Davis shop was an International
shop, on the ground that the contract
which takes it from the International
shop is signed by International officers
—that identical flim-flam re-appears in
the Wisconsin argument that a cap-
italist candidate may be recommended on
the ground that the constitution does
not expressly forbid the act; the iden-
tical flim-flam re-appears in the sancti-
monious denunciation of fusion with
capitalist candidates by men who fuse
with the capitalist labor-lieutenants in
the shops; in short, the identical flim-
flam is re-appearing in the arguments
made in Los Angeles, in Michigan, in
New York, in Chicago—everywhere by
the majority of the party of aliases and
that is helping the Socialist Labor Party
to enlighten the duped minority into
the rumblings and explosions we now
hear and that are bound to flim-flam the
concern out of existence.

The "Davis Case" was the starter of
the prolific flim-flam family. Hence to
understand it is well worth space and
time. The lesson it teaches is both im-
pressive and solemn. Serenely looms
the peak of the Socialist Labor Party
through the breaking clouds that hung
heavy over it, and were supposed by the
flim-flammers for evermore to veil it
and deprive the wayfarer of its guidance
in his effort to emerge from the wilder-
ness of the capitalist tangle.

The director of a corporation is gen-
erally presumed to be a man of great
executive ability, capable of directing
the ship of industry through the trou-
bled waters of Capitalism. Among the
greatest of directors is Chauncey De-
pew. He is on the directories of many
corporations. Is it because he fulfills
the popular conception of a director
more than others? Let a writer in "The
New York Commercial" of June 7 an-
swer. Says this writer, quoting an-
other:

"If you are looking for the secret
of Mr. Depew's membership in so many
boards of directors," said a prominent
official of a New York insurance com-
pany not allied with the Equitable, "you
will find it in his exceptional acquaint-
ance with men who have inside infor-
mation as to investments. He has a
larger personal knowledge of the kings
of finance in this country than any other
man. How does it work out? Mr. De-
pew goes on a board of directors; the
institution must invest its funds to the
best advantage possible; Depew brings
forward the people who offer the safest
and most tempting investments. There
it is in a nutshell. He is worth every
dollar any corporation pays him for
such services in his directorial capac-
ity."

In other words, Mr. Depew's chief
ability as a director is that of a bell-
wether for stock jobbers. A great and
honorable distinction! Yet there are
workingmen foolish enough to believe
that without such eminent directors, it
is impossible to have industry!

Mrs. Howard Gould's use of profanity
in characterizing Architect Haydel has
created a discussion as to whether or
not hers is an exceptional or a typical
case among the grand dames of Cap-
italism. A "Sun" correspondent believes
it to be typical. He cites instances in
which the language employed was of
a decidedly more unwomanly character
than that which was said to have been
hurled at the head of the Kilkenny ar-
chitect. This is not surprising. It is
rather to be expected. Capitalism pro-
duces an atmosphere of mental and
moral degeneracy, in which the finer
qualities of womanhood, as well as of
manhood, are bound to be sacrificed. It
produces political corruption, stock
swindling, industrial warfare, scandalous
divorces, shocking immorality—what,
then, is there to save its grand dames
from coarseness and vulgarity? They
are bound to prevail.

A "Success" writer wants to know,
"Is there any excuse for not succeed-
ing?" The answer is bound to be, sure,
there isn't. With some men success is
inevitable. The division of labor and
the property and class divisions of so-
ciety require it and make it certain on
those accounts. But to affirm that all
who are urged to succeed may do so—
is to affirm that which, in the nature
of the present constitution of society, is
impossible. Few only can succeed—fail-
ure is the foregone lot of the many—
under Capitalism



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONA-
THAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—If the
masses do not now get together against
the classes, when will they?

UNCLE SAM—Have you, too, been
infected with that silly notion about
"masses" as against "classes"?

B. J.—Silly notion?

U. S.—Certainly silly.

B. J.—Why, isn't the social question
the conflict of the masses with the
classes?

U. S.—Which are the "classes," pray?

B. J.—Why, the rich, the capitalists.

U. S.—Why do you call them the
"classes"?

B. J.—There are several classes
among them.

U. S.—Which?

B. J.—There is, for instance, the bank-
ing class; then there is the railroad king
class; then there is the mine baron class;
then there is the manufacturing class;
then there is the mercant prince class—
don't you see?

U. S.—Let me grant for the pres-
ent that these are "classes" proper.

B. J.—Are they not?

U. S.—Hardly; but granted that they
are classes in the proper sense, it fol-
lows that, if you call these the classes
and the others the "masses," you imply
there are no "classes" in the latter.

B. J.—Neither are these.

U. S.—Let's see. Is there not a rail-
road workers' class?

B. J. hesitates.

U. S.—Is there not a mine workers'
class?

B. J. looks puzzled.

C. S.—Is there not a manufacturers'
employees' class?

B. J. grows visibly embarrassed.

U. S.—Is there not a clerks', a book-
keepers', waiters', messengers' class?

B. J.—True, true.

U. S.—It follows that if you give the
designation of "classes" to the cap-
italists because of the various means by
which they skin the workers, then you
are bound to give the designation of
classes to the workers too, because of
the various means by which they are
skinned.

B. J.—I see that, but—

U. S.—One moment. Do you realize
that all workers as well as bosses would
justly fall into "classes," if by that word
you mean their pursuits?

B. J.—Yes; I give up that line of ar-
gument; but there is another.

U. S.—Which?

B. J.—On which side is the large ma-
jority—on the side of the workers or on
that of the bosses or capitalists?

U. S.—On that of the workers, decid-
edly.

B. J.—Then I am right to call the
workers' side the "masses"?

U. S.—Most assuredly you are; pro-
vided, however, you don't mix up two
thoughts.

B. J.—How "mix up"?

U. S.—When you think of "masses" the
what thought is on your mind—the
thought of numbers or the thought of
pursuit?

B. J.—The thought of numbers, of
course.

U. S.—And when you think of "class-
es," what thought is on your mind—the
thought of pursuit, or the thought of
numbers?

B. J. (brightening)—Why, the thought
of pursuits, of course.

U. S.—Do you now realize that you
mix up two thoughts, jumble them to-
gether, when you talk of "masses" as
against "classes"?

B. J. (sticking his hands deeper into
his trousers' pockets and with convic-
tion)—Yes, the two thoughts are incor-
rect—

U. S.—Absurdly connected?

B. J.—Yes, absurdly connected.

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

ON ACHILLE LORIA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On page 346 of Achille Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society" (Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers), I find the following: "An analysis of the Capitalistic Economy teaches us that no revolution can be really general and effective until unproductive labor detaches itself from its normal alliance with the revenues to join forces with productive labor and set forth its claims."

Also on page 247 I find the following words: "It follows from this, e contrario, that every revolt attempted by the working classes before the critical period has arrived, and while unproductive labor is still allied with capital, must prove abortive."

I understand the position of The People to be that the working class will make the revolution from the present system to Socialism, and that if we depend on unproductive labor (preachers, lawyers, professors, and others of that ilk) to direct the working class movement we will not get the Co-operative Commonwealth, but will get a State capitalism, similar to what Germany now has in some things.

I had believed that the latter position was right, but if I am mistaken in that, and also in the position The People holds, I will consider it a favor to be set right.

G. E. Payne.

Fargo, N. D., June 8, 1905.

[Of course it is a risky thing to interpret two such passages as above without considering the context. We have not Loria's work handy. Leaving for a later opportunity a complete answer, we should say that the two passages quoted from Loria do not necessarily conflict with what our correspondent correctly understands the position of The People to be. The two passages would conflict only if from the context it would appear that the function of "unproductive labor" is considered to be a LEADING one in the effecting of a social revolution. If that be the meaning of the two passages, we would hold them to be false. They would be untrue to history. "Unproductive labor" leads, organizes and directs REFORM; never yet did it organize, lead and direct REVOLUTION. On the other hand, from the context of the two passages it may appear that the function of "unproductive labor" is considered to be, not one of leadership, but the very valuable one of the proverbial straw that breaks the camel's back, or tips the scales. With that we agree, and that is not in conflict with The People's position. "Unproductive labor" is instinctively a deserter to the victor in social revolutions; in that capacity it acts as a settler; but "unproductive labor" cannot drill the revolution; its class instincts, as a parasite of existing order, ever drive it to adjust things to the conditions from which its parasitic existence springs, and its life depends; consequently, when the Revolution has so far perfected itself that such conditions of existence and life virtually cease to be, then "unproductive labor" flaps over to the revolution. While in such instances "unproductive labor" acts wholly obedient to the psychology of the man on a sinking ship who throws himself into the sea for safety, the desertion of the ship by "unproductive labor" urges the ship to the bottom and aids the victory of the revolutionary wave. So understanding the facts, it is correct to say that not until "unproductive labor" detaches itself from its normal alliance will the revolution triumph. This "detaching" is a symptom, not a cause, certainly not a fundamental cause, but only an incidental. Probably, it is due to a failure to distinguish "cause" from "effect" and "accompanying circumstances" that so many people follow the ignis fatuus of trimming their sails to bourgeois elements. "Unproductive labor" will never come over to the Socialist Revolution until the revolutionary class (the wage slave) makes the conditions of life for "unproductive labor" untenable in capitalist society.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

DETROIT OPENS SUMMER CAMPAIGN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Detroit, Mich., held its first open air meeting last Saturday, the 16th inst., at the corner of Gratiot avenue and Mullett street.

Comrade Herman Richter opened it up with a very logical and a well-timed speech, touching upon various interesting topics, political and economical, showing plainly the utter impossibility for the workingmen to better their present condition, unless they all organize in a clear class conscious body politically and economically. The audience,

which was of a good size, was very attentive, and more than once you could hear some one exclaim: "Well said," "that is right," "that is coming down to rock bottom," etc.

Comrade Otto Justh, the next speaker, did justice to the party and himself by answering very satisfactory all the questions put to him. The usual smart Allick, with his funny questions, was there, but got the "ha, ha" from the crowd. A number of leaflets and Weekly People were distributed and about a dozen pamphlets sold.

Next meeting will be held at the same place on next Saturday evening, weather permitting. Comrades, please take notice.

B. L.

Detroit, Mich., June 11.

GOING TO SMASH.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—This is a sample of what is going on in Local Los Angeles of the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party. It is the result of a fight against capitalist fusion and on the trade union question. There will be more to come.

L. C. H.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 5.

(Enclosure.)

Los Angeles, Cal., May 29, 1905.

To Local Los Angeles,

S. P. of California,

Comrades:—I have been much entertained of late by the fiery debates in our business meetings. At times I have fallen to dreaming and imagined I was attending a masquerade in the flaming country on the other side of the River Styx, or an old-time contest in the Arena at Rome. My chief wonderment was that such a heterogeneous accumulation of beasts and men, all struggling for mastery over each other could call themselves by any such name as "comrades," or pretend to be working for their common interest or the common interest of any one. For long I have watched the onslaughts of the beasts against the men, the men against the beasts with much interest. Indeed, the beasts have sometimes raved up with such spirited courage that they looked like men and mistaken each other for men and torn each other with tooth and claw. At times, too, the men have mistaken each other for beasts and eaten each other up in their madness. But in the end I see the beasts have full possession of the arena, the men having largely run away and hid themselves to avoid unpleasantness. Anarchy prevails here—no Socialism. Not only does the majority fail to punish members for breaking laws, it deliberately votes to adopt a policy of breaking laws and to repudiate the Constitution in every case. Anything so that the fur can fly in this merry, merry game.

I am going to leave you because I believe I can do more to help emancipate the slaves and abolish the wage system by belonging to a base-ball nine. I BELIEVE THAT MONEY INVESTED IN YOUR ORGANIZATION TENDS TO DISRUPT THE WORKING CLASS. Please accept my resignation to your membership.

Yours for the Revolution,

J. W. Schmeidel.

PATTON BEARING FALSE WITNESS

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In Sunday's "Herald," a reporter describes his visit and interview with President Patton of Princeton, and credits that learned professor with the remark that he is no Socialist and does not accept the theory of equal division of money, because if Andrew Carnegie's three hundred millions were equally distributed in one dollar portions, no practical benefit would result. It would, in fact, be vicious, as Carnegie would then be poorer and all the rest presently so. If the Rev. Patton only was an initiated and instructed Socialist he would know that Socialism does not propose a division of wealth; and at that point would be mathematical, logical and earnest enough to indicate that the iron baron's dollars are perhaps not visible in coin, yet palpable in the equivalent shape of lands, leases, tools, and methods of production of necessities, which, if in the collective possession of the commonwealth for the collective benefit, would, by replenishment and constant multiplication, be a source of life, comfort and tranquility to the whole social fabric in its economic and domestic environment.

The president of Princeton Seminary quotes from the Gospels the words of Christ: "The meek shall inherit the earth." Do the lowly toilers of this and other lands inherit or even possess the right to live on the earth save by the sufferance of cruel and inhuman masters? Their banishment from the land and the tools is the recompense for

meek and unconscious toleration of this trespass and pillage. Doctor Patton will do well to study the Socialist doctrine and learn its articles of faith. Our Golden Text is, we will jointly produce wealth and jointly distribute wealth. Quakerism is admirable, says his reverence. But we once heard of the Quaker whose tender heart forbade him to hurt the dog, but gave him a bad name by crying "mad dog," and so alarmed the neighbors, to the dog's distress. Ministers must not bear false witness, either direct or implied.

G. W. Tracy.

New York, June 11.

KIRKPATRICK TAKES THE ELEPHANT FOR A SPEAR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Not knowing whether you were acquainted with Mr. Kirkpatrick, speaker and organizer of the Socialist party of Minnesota; or not, I thought I would write you my impression of him, obtained at his lecture here on May 28, 1905. Saturday night, May 27, he spoke on the street. A woman Christian Scientist was propounding her doctrine on one corner and Kirkpatrick on the other, and between the two, they attracted a large crowd, everything being favorable for people to be out on the streets. I did not hear him then, but was told he had shown up the class struggle in a good manner, and that he sold much literature.

Sunday afternoon at 4.30 o'clock, Kirkpatrick was to speak in a hall and a number of comrades went up to hear. About fifty or sixty people were there, including the S. L. P. members. He gave an historical review of the struggle between the working class and master class, as he called them, showing the relationship of the ancient slave to the serf of the middle ages and this to the modern wage slave. He also showed that private ownership gave the master class the power it revealed. He said it was one of the first duties of the master class to control the means and avenues of education to lead the masses where they, the masters, will. The schools, the press and the politicians were always spouting "patriotism" and "prosperity." It was dust thrown into the air that the working class should not see the trick of private ownership. He wound up by saying that the Socialist party desired to remove this dust that the producing class could see clearly and act accordingly.

"If," said he, "our vote increases 100 per cent., as it did last election, the following election we will have 2,000,000 votes, which will force every school to teach Socialism, every newspaper to proclaim Socialism and soon the Socialist party will be victorious at the polls with an overwhelming majority." It was then 6 o'clock and he asked for questions, but as we judged it advisable not to bombard him on the question of tactics publicly, to prevent hostility from the Kongs, causing them thereby to be biased, a member of us introduced ourselves to the speaker, which caused the Kongs to flock around us at once.

The speaker was asked whether he thought the American Federation of Labor was a good thing and was organizing the working class for its own emancipation? He said: "Personally, I believe the American Federation of Labor did a lot of good." When asked if it was a good thing for the working class now, he answered: "Yes, I think so." He was then asked if it was not a fact that it hopelessly kept the working class divided? "I think not." When shown that their generals, like Gompers, Mitchell, etc., were traitors and their leadership meant division and ruin to the working class, he said: "I do not know about those things, not being long enough in the movement."

He was then asked what he thought of the industrial union movement? "Personally, I do not favor it, and really expect very little of it." A comrade then said: "Mr. Kirkpatrick, as we are living in revolutionary times, should not every Socialist who is a Socialist, in fact, take advantage of and assist in such an opportunity as this convention of June 27, to remove the dust from the air that the working class might see clearly its material advantage?" "I don't know," was his answer.

He was asked how long he had been in the Socialist movement, and this is what he said: "Two years ago I left Ripan College where I was instructor and joined the Socialist movement." The man made a good, clean speech from an historical point of view; his facility in conveying his knowledge was very good; he seemed sincere and had a good delivery; but, judging from partial facts, he concluded the elephant to be a spear.

While we were engaging the speaker, surrounded by the Kongs, Comrade Campbell was explaining to a group of them that, as in the speaker's own example of Spartacus, who had in eight consecutive battles fought the master class victoriously, but in the ninth and

final battle was killed, and with him over 200,000 slaves, just so will it be with the "Socialist" party when the final battle is fought, and Socialism wins at the ballot box, with the tactics of the "Socialist" or Social Democratic party. On that day the victory will prove a failure and a state of anarchy will prevail, for the working class will not be trained to even understand itself. How can it understand itself when it preaches collective ownership and practices private ownership. I point to your press."

With this statement, "When you wish to debate this matter call on us, we will only be too glad to meet you," we parted.

Fraternally yours,

Max A. Goltz.

Winona, Minn., June 6.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE LABEL AND THE UNION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—1. Concerning the label not being on our literature.—The label is intended to assist the manufacturer in selling his goods to the public for a high price. He then, in return, gives his workmen a part of the profit in the form of higher wages. The effect of the matter is to assist the boss to rob the public. The great majority of the people are workmen. The consequence is to rob the many and to assist the few well organized. This, we, as Socialists, cannot endorse. We must protect the workingmen against all fraud and swindle, no matter if done under the cloak of religion or trades unionism.

2. Concerning the Militia.—The militia is used against the workingman when on strike for living wages, and to protect the scab. Thus the militia becomes the tool which the capitalists use to lower the standard of living. Therefore any trades union men belonging to or endorsing the militia under the present system of production and distribution, of Capitalism, is an enemy to the Working Class; whereas, under Socialism, the production and distribution for the welfare of the many the soldier would be a patriot in the true sense of the word.

Any trades union which does not demand the abolition of the present system is a capitalist union, although composed of workmen. I think that putting it in this sense it will give us the higher and broader view and puts the pure and simple trades unionist in a position where he cannot defend himself.

This is simply a line of thinking which I know our comrades can improve upon.

C. S.

Boston, June 10

GLOCKLING ILLUSTRATES HIMSELF.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The fifth annual report of the "Bureau of Labor," of which Mr. Robert Glockling is secretary, shows that 174 establishments reported to the Bureau; 11,503 persons were employed by the firms reporting; the gross value of the product of the wage workers was \$25,714,296; amount received by the workers as wages, \$4,400,626, leaving amount exploited from labor \$21,313,670. The average yearly wage amounted to \$382.56 per wage slave. Truly a magnificent sum! The percentage labor cost of production was 17.15, as against 21.69 in 1901, and 25 in 1903.

From the above, one is forced to admit that the secretary of the Labor Bureau is a counterfeit Daniel come to judgment, when he states in an article in the Bookbinders' official organ that it only requires a little recognition of the economic brotherhood of capitalist and laborer to ensure a lasting peace. The twenty-one million odd dollars of stealing shows that the workers will absolutely require to recognize their economic position, but not in the way the labor fakir secretary of the "Labor Bureau" desires.

James M. Reid.

Toronto, Canada, June 15.

AN INSULT TO THE PROLETARIAT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—"The Boston Traveller," in an editorial June 9, asserts that "those lurid advance agents of the Socialist Commonwealth in their mass meeting at Faneuil Hall June 6, 1905, insulted the workmen of America, by saying: 'That you are abject slaves. As much merchandise as the coat upon your back.'" The "Traveller" contends that we are not slaves, but share with the rest of the citizenry the burden of working out the problems of democracy.

The editor of this capitalist sheet either is ignorant upon the economic question, or he purposely is trying to mislead the wealth producers. Let me ask the editor if he ever heard of a chattel slave starving to death? In Hearst's Boston "American" of June 8, is recorded, on page 3, seventh column, an instance of a wage slave, starving to death on Pleasant street, Boston, Mass., in the midst of plenty. Not slaves!

Our labor power is a merchandise, as

(Continued on page 6.)

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

P. R. H. W., MT. VERNON, N. Y.—Send reports of meetings. As a rule reports of subdivisions of Sections can not be published, the paper would be slumped. Notices and such matters are always accepted.

G. P. R. SALINAS, CAL.—We never heard that Roosevelt said or did such things. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

J. F. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—There is no cause for wonderment at Editor Werner of the "Tageblatt's" lining up with the Civic Federation Gompers Unions. He is in the identical box with his fellow so-called Socialist party Editor Berger of the Milwaukee "Wahrheit." Berger excuses himself for publishing radical bourgeois anti-Catholic stuff on the ground that "hardly ten per cent of the readers of the German paper (his "Wahrheit") are dues-paying members of (his) party," and, consequently, that he must trim the sails of his privately owned paper to bourgeois likings. And so did Philadelphia "Tageblatt" Werner several years ago, when The People hauled him over the coals, excuse himself for his treasonable articles against the Working Class on the ground that he had to cater to his bourgeois supporters. Like material interests, like results. Score one more for privately owned so-called Socialist party papers.

L. M. GORDON, HAMILTON, ONT.—John W. Pearce, 88 Kent street, London, Ont., wants your address.

S. J. F. T., CHICAGO, ILL.—Never was it disputed that lying low before the labor fakirs and not hostilizing the bourgeois reformers was productive of more votes than a clean fight. That was always granted. The point in dispute was and is whether the price paid for such larger vote was not too high. The Socialist Labor Party claims that the price is ruinous. For one thing, the vote thus obtained, though larger than the Socialist Labor Party vote, is not, in point of quantity, large enough to "get there"—a miss is as good as a mile; for another thing, the vote thus obtained is not, in point of quality, sound enough to build on. It must crumble. Consequently, it is inferior to the Socialist Labor Party vote. Moreover, leave the vote aside—a thing that the capitalist can monkey with. The Socialist must always keep his eye upon the broad masses. Then he must reach. Literature does the work. Now, then, can a literature that "lies low" before the fakirs, and trims its sails to bourgeois reform, have that fiber and fire that logic and system that are indispensable for the mental and physical organization of the Revolution?

N. R., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Look out for the man who writes essays on Socialism. He is a stage-strutter and intellectual poltroon. The Movement has all the Socialist theories that it needs. No need of refining upon these. The vital question now is to illustrate these theories with modern events. To do this the digestive apparatus of a man's mind must be in good condition. These modern theorists suffer of chronic indigestion of the mind.

"BREWSTER," TOLEDO, O.—Get it straight. In that handbill to the Italian voters in Elizabeth, the now Editor of the "Brauer-Zeitung" Weigeloni, called himself Geovani, that was his spelling of GEORGI.

C. Z., PEAKSKILL, N. Y.—Whether or not the so-called Socialist party of Massachusetts retains its official standing will depend upon the manner in which the election authorities interpret the law. That party fell below the official percentage; as far as that goes it would not be entitled to official standing. But there is a law in Massachusetts according to which if a party has been consecutively on the ticket for a certain number of years it has a standing. The question would be how many years that party has been on the ticket; and that question is complicated by the circumstance that that party has had such a variety of names in Massachusetts.

J. F. C. ALLEGHENY, PA.—It is quite possible that the statistical figures gotten up by capitalist officials make out that the railway workers received last year 42 per cent of the gross earnings. It never must be lost sight of that these compilers of statistics always jump with the wages of the wage slave the \$50,000 salaries of the figure-head officials who are stockholders. That is the trick by which they swell the percentage of wages. But it is a late hour in the day for these doctored figures to fool anybody. Our capitalists have become so reckless in their displayfulness that facts knock these statistics into a cocked hat. If the share of the capitalists is so small, where do they get the wealth from on which they luxuriate in Hyde and Seeley dinners? In palatial residences? In gorgeous steam and electric yachts? In European "noble"

men" sons-in-laws, etc., etc.? Where do they get that wealth from? And what do the workmen, who live on edge of starvation, want do they do with their huge percentages? Throw them into the river?

F. T. GREEN ACRES, WASH.—The man who will claim that there is plenty of work for all, and only loafers are in want, is past reasoning with. He is a surviving specimen of a type now almost extinct.

J. O'F., ABINGTON, MASS.—F. G. R. Gordon, the mail robber who was expelled from the Socialist Labor Party for taking the Party's wages as organizer, while he was secretly intriguing against the Party with the so-called Socialist party, and who was thereupon received with open arms and boomed by the Wisconsin Social Democratic party, the same as it has since continued to do with similar tainted matter secreted by the Socialist Labor Party—that T. G. R. Gordon lies when he says he left the Party: the S. L. P. kicked him out; and he lies when he says that his record as a mail-robber was known by the Party when he still was a member. That fact was not known until afterwards. The people who knew of this and called the Socialist Labor Party names for "villifying" the man when the S. L. P. made his antecedents public, and who were unwise and undignified enough to publish his stupid rantings against the Socialist Labor Party, the same as they have continued to do with the stupid rantings of other such tainted elements that the S. L. P. secreted—these people are the lay so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, and the subsequent clerical organization who successively gave the scamp asylum.

M. M., DETROIT, MICH.—An earnest and strong effort to understand your long article having proved fruitless we do not feel justified to publish it. It has been placed in the hands of the National Secretary to be accessible to the full National Committee which is to assemble at its semi-annual meeting on the 2d of next month, in case you should desire to appeal to that body.

S. J., ST. PAUL, MINN.—All the bodies that claim to be Socialist united in France. Watch and you will see an explosion there also.

"IMPARTIAL," MILWAUKEE, WIS.—No, dearest; not at all! Father Kress and Archbishop Messmer may be all the bad things that you claim; but are Berger and his Milwaukee body any better? Look at the two sets—Kress and Messmer, on the one side, Berger and his Milwaukee concern, on the other; concentrate your mind upon both; you will find that they are like two peas, no essential difference between them, at least not on the essence of the issue that you raise. You picture Kress and Messmer as hypocrites—they are that; you picture them as preaching Christian benevolence, and practicing Capitalist inhumanity—they do that. You picture them as posing as friends of the workingman, and yet being hand-in-glove with the exploiters of the workingman, singing their praises, growing at the apostles of Labor's emancipation, and profiting by both the singing and the growling—they do that. But what about Berger and his Milwaukee body? Do not they preach "Socialist" principles, and practice anti-Socialist tactics? Do not they pose as friends of the workingman, and yet are found cheek-by-jowl with the labor-lieutenants of the Capitalist Class, singing their praises as "noble wagers of the Class Struggle," growing at the apostles of bona fide Unionism, and profiting by both the singing and the growling? Do not they, identically with the Kresses and Messmers, set up a beautiful ideal, worship it with their lips, but declare "impractical" its execution, and pronounce "impossibilities" those who insist upon practice (tactics) confirming with preaching (principles)? Truly, when the two bunches are carefully sized up, they are so inherently identical that one runs great risk of mixing up the titles and names, saying Father or Archbishop Berger, and bogus Socialist party leader Kress and Messmer.

J. B. D., MARION, IND.—Impossible to answer how the different church properties are owned and controlled in the world. That would require an extensive essay. The principles are different in different countries. In this country, all church properties, Jew and Gentile, the Roman Catholic excepted, are owned and controlled by local societies, often incorporated bodies. The Roman Catholic church properties, we understand, are in some way owned and controlled by local trustees for the Roman See.

L. B., CLEVELAND, O.—"Daily Call," did you say? Did you say? Where is it? We'll tell you a story. When the Spanish navy was smashed off Santiago, and the leading battleship was boarded

by the Americans, the officer who led the boarding party looked around with surprise noticing the absence of guns on the deck of the boarded battleship. So great was his surprise that the first thing he said was to ask the surrendering Spanish officer in command: "Where are your guns?" "They are," answered the disgusted Spanish officer, "in the pockets of the Minister of Marine." Need we tell you in detail in the pockets of what members of the Volkzeitung Corporation the "Daily Call" is comfortably being enjoyed?

C. M. C., PORTLAND, ORE.—The Massachusetts so-called Socialist party never, as far as we know, revoked the charter of their Waltham local for nominating a capitalist politician John F. Williams to office. We never saw any official or other mention of the fact made, or of Williams's expulsion. If any one around Portland makes the claim in rebuttal to the passage on Waltham in "The Difference," he must be of the double dealing, three-card-monte stamp of those who claim IN REPUTATION of "The Difference" that Eichmann of West Hoboken "was expelled," when the fact is that the "New Yorker Worker" set up the howl of "Daily People Lie!" when the matter was first published by The People; and not until people came trooping into this office to look at the official ballot and the lie was fastened on the "New Yorker Worker," did trouble break out in the West Hoboken concern. And what was the trouble? Eichmann, unwilling to be made a scapegoat by his pals, published two letters over his signature in the West Hoboken Record to the effect that he would not allow himself to be "De Leonized," seeing that his whole organization was cognizant of what he did. That crew is a slimy, double dealing crew, worthy candle-holders for Belmont's A. F. of L.

E. A. B., OGDEN, UTAH—How many Kangaroos, you'd like to know, changed their names to give the "first American expression of Socialism"? Fortunately, those unclean spirits are not numerous enough to call them "Legion," yet they are too numerous to give, or to remember off-hand. But here are a few of them: Leonard of Minneapolis, he had at least four other names before; Herbert Spencer of Philadelphia, formerly heaven only knows what; Hilquit, formerly Hilkwitz; Stone (known around here as "The Louse") formerly Nochim Zadich Steinhilch; Henry Slobodkin, formerly Hoyim Slobodkin, and some say Slobodnoffsky; Winchester, formerly Winchewsky, we hear he has since returned to his first name; Boudin, formerly Bowdginoff; McClosky, formerly Michlenoffsky; Morris Brown, now Kangaroo candidate on the municipal ticket, formerly Moses Barna; there are piles more. But these will do.

E. P., HAMILTON, ONT.—The Socialist Movement of Great Britain is the British Socialist Labor Party. Other things that call themselves "Socialist," and claim to be "in the Movement," or are thought to be by some folks, can not be said to be a part of the Socialist Movement. Keir Hardy's Independent Labor Party is essentially a Salvation Army emotionalism, and, consequently, contradicts itself at every turn: one moment, for instance, it votes for a resolution that specifies the Class Struggle, as it did at Amsterdam, the next moment it expressly denies the Class Struggle. The Labor Representation Committee movement is simply a movement that transfers to the political field the pure and simple notion applied on the economic field regarding the brotherhood of Capital and Labor. Besides these two absurd though large movements, there are in England two other equally absurd but trifling in size. The one is the "Babbling Brook's" Social Democratic Federation of stage-strutters, the other is the Esperanto so-called Socialist party whose only virtue consists in that its membership did not care to be bulldozed by the "Babbling Brook's" concern, and decided to be independent freaks. None, nor all of these four concerns put together, can be called either the, or part of the Socialist Movement of Great Britain—any more than the dust raised by an army on the march, however, thick and suffocating the dust may be, can be said to be either the, or part of the army.

S. R. R., BRADDOCK, PA.—Are the Carnegie Relief Fund benefits, announced on the poster you sent, higher or lower than they were before? or are they unchanged?

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—With this issue the discussion on the Chicago Manifesto, etc., closes. The space is needed for other matter; moreover, the convention is at hand. The discussion will be re-opened after the convention; but possibly not until after the campaign.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS THE WORLD OVER.—Furnish this office with copies of preambles and constitutions of your respective Unions. As complete and up-to-date a set as possible is wanted at this office.

B. E. W., PORTLAND, ORE.; G. N.

(Continued on page 6.)

